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Sumqayit 1988:

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Baku, “NURLAR” - 2014

Eyruz Mammadov, Ramazan Mammadov.
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On 27-29 February 1988 mass unrest occurred in the city of Sumqayit. Materials used in this book include materials from the investigations by prosecutors of the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR and employees of the Chief Prosecutor’s Office of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan; witness statements from people who committed crimes, from victims and their rescuers and others, as well as juridical materials. Further, research has been carried out into the causes and effects, the initiators, the organisers and the perpetrators of those events by reference to the extensive literature devoted to the issue of the so-called ‘Great Armenia’ and the ‘Armenian Question’. It is shown that only the immediate perpetrators of these crimes, and not even all of them, have been punished.

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“Sumqayit is a city of industrious and hard-working people. Every person who has worked here has played a major role in building Sumqayit. There have been great examples of self-sacrifice in industry, education and culture that have increased the glory of this city of youth. I have no doubt that the sons of those who laid the foundations of Sumqayit and who are now present in this hall will continue admirably along their fathers’ path in the future and that they will make Sumqayit a more beautiful and prosperous place”.

Heydar Aliyev,
National Leader

*(An extract from a speech devoted to the
25th anniversary of the city of Sumqayit in 1974)*





“What happened in Sumqayit in February 1988 was in fact a diversionary action carried out against the people of Azerbaijan. For this reason, and according to my instructions, the criminal case on this issue has now been renewed.

The aim of the investigation is to find the organisers of this diversion. The case will be evaluated politically once the investigation is complete. The State of Azerbaijan is interested in exposing this crime and revealing those responsible, and is willing to collaborate with any person, organization or country that would like to participate in this case”.

Ilham Aliyev,
President of the Republic of Azerbaijan



FOREWORD

A number of interesting and prominent works about Azerbaijan's history, traditions and cultural heritage have been published and made available for a mass readership since the country declared its independence. The collection of precise information, its analysis and introduction to readers in circumstances of an abundance of information represents a great responsibility. In Soviet countries sagas were composed and panegyrics recited about the city of Sumqayit, a child of that socialist society.

Our city has travelled a great and glorious and, at the same time, difficult road over 64 years. We can see that there has been hard work and major contributions from people of various nationalities in the building of Sumqayit. Sumqayit was very quickly recognized as a "multinational city of hardworking people" with its own history, traditions and cultural heritage, not only within the republic, but throughout the world.

The former president of Azerbaijan, national leader Heydar Aliyev, participated in the 25th anniversary celebrations in Sumqayit in 1974 and said in a speech before an audience of those active in the city's affairs: "Sumqayit is a city of industrious and hard-working people. Every person who has worked here has played a major role in building Sumqayit. They have been great examples of self-sacrifice in industry, education and culture that have increased the glory of this city of youth. I have no doubt that the sons of those who laid the foundations of Sumqayit and who are now present in this hall will continue admirably along their fathers' path in the future and that they will make Sumqayit a more beautiful and prosperous place."

Almost 40 years have passed since those words were spoken by great leader Heydar Aliyev. People who live in Sumqayit never forget the wise words of that historic figure and they develop their beloved city by becoming true initiators, achieving great success along the path of progress. This delights us all.

Albeit younger than other cities of Azerbaijan, Sumqayit has a rich history. Bringing coherence to this history, setting it down as it happened and delivering it to readers is a highly complex task.

The challenges faced by Sumqayit increased as it developed. Despite this it has taken firm steps forward, developed and established a most creditable position in the history of Azerbaijan by its good deeds and pure intentions.

In the February of 1988, Armenian nationalists carried out a diversionary action in Sumqayit with support from backers living abroad: the USSR Committee for State Security, Armenian special service agencies and the Dashnak party. The action reverberated through many other countries. Academics, historians, political scientists and journalists wrote a number of valuable texts, made films and presented them to the world in order to inform people of the truth. This did not please the Armenians and their international friends at all and they continue with their disgusting politics today.

We would like to highlight for readers the fact that 32 people of various nationalities were killed as a result of the diversionary action carried out on 27-29 February 1988 in Sumqayit, which was known as the city of “international friendship” in Azerbaijan. In order to investigate this unrest a special criminal case, 18/55461-88, was opened by the Chief Prosecutor’s Office of the USSR, hundreds of people were made to answer to the court and some of them were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Already, 25 years have passed since those events that at first sight appeared to be anti-Armenian in nature, but which were masterfully organized and were in essence anti-Azerbaijan and anti-Sumqayit, however opaquely. It would be wrong to seek the causes of those events either in the city of friendship – Sumqayit - or in the mutual relations between the people of more than 80 nationalities who lived and worked there.

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Mr. İlham Aliyev, issued an order to the law enforcement agencies concerning a review of the criminal case into the February 1988 events in Sumqayit. The investigation carried out by members of these agencies over several years and the results and information they obtained give us reason enough to state that the investigation by the Chief Prosecutor’s Office of the USSR into the Sumqayit events was a one-dimensional affair, in which all criminal actions were explained as “hooliganism”.

The book '*Sumqayit 1988. Crime and Punishment*' is intended for a wide readership and the authors have attempted to reveal certain occurrences unknown to Azerbaijani readers and the wider world and to give precise and sure answers to shadowy issues. The investigations conducted show once again that the script for the Sumqayit events was written long before 1988 and was intended to be a 'plan B' in case the Nagorno-Karabakh issue was not resolved to the satisfaction of Armenian nationalists. And that is what happened.

Armenian nationalists and the Armenian lobby who live abroad, with assistance from corrupt mass media, sent appeals to the parliaments of various countries and international organizations, claiming that a policy of national oppression had been conducted against Armenians in the Azerbaijan SSR for 70 years and that genocide had been committed against them in Sumqayit. They called on the world community to recognize a 'Sumqayit genocide'.

As a rule, Armenian ideology, perennially based on lies and slander, estranges readers from the truth and calls upon them to adopt a favourable position towards Armenians and their disgusting and malicious plans. But history does what it does and remains as it was. It is impossible to distort or alter it. Armenian people must understand this once and for all.

The versions proposed, the judgements and considerations described in the book '*Sumqayit, 1988. Crime and Punishment*' are distinguished for their objectivity and subjectivity. This is to be expected. The main point is that the authors have attempted to show that the mass disorders and bloody events – the **CRIMES** committed in Sumqayit - had a more global character than the local and territorial problems concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, and that the tracks of the powers that ordered and organized those events go far beyond the boundaries of our republic.

Readers often wonder: "But who **ORDERED**, **ORGANIZED** and **CARRIED OUT** the Sumqayit events? In this book we will attempt to find an answer to this question and clarify some of the darker issues.

Azerbaijan. Sumqayit.
1988. The night of 28 to 29 February...
32 people have been killed in Sumqayit.
(News from SITA March 1988)

I wonder who ordered, organized and carried out the bloody actions in Sumqayit from 27-29 February 1988. It is quite difficult to give a precise and certain answer to this question. However, research, analysis and contemplation conducted over 25 years show that the Sumqayit events were not the actions of a group of “hooligans” as Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated; they had a rather more political and global character.

As well as being bought by the West, Gorbachev favoured the Armenians from the first years of his rule, then the Nagorno-Karabakh problem emerged. Gorbachev and his team, the Armenian government, their patrons abroad, the special service agencies and the Dashnak Party, who saw that this problem was quite a challenging one, tried in a malicious and disgusting way to realize their plans. With the approval of the Kremlin, they conducted bloody terror in Sumqayit.

The Sumqayit events were not a direct attempt by the Armenian chauvinists to achieve their ultimate goal, but rather to create a pretext. So, we will attempt to reveal more extensively the essence of those events and explain and analyze the conditions in which they emerged, the purposes behind the choice of this city as the locus and the execution of these acts of terror. Before answering these questions, we would like to introduce readers to a brief history of the city of Sumqayit.

SUMQAYIT, THE CITY OF LEGENDS

The popular legend of “Su qayit” (Water, come back) probably stemmed from the geographical environment. People living on the sandy beaches of the Caspian Sea, under a harsh sun, really needed a supply of water. Their only hope was a small river, which would dry up under the severe sun of the summer months leaving people without water. And the endless winds would fill the riverbed with sand and change the river’s direction. Perhaps, then, the expression “Water, come back” comes from the prayers of people left without

water on the sandy shores of the Caspian Sea following a natural disaster and hoping for rescue from the torment of many years.

Another legend about the name of this land is “Sum, qayit” (Sum, come back). This legend, known locally as ‘Sum and Jeyran’ also has an interesting history...

...A vast, grey desert. Winds that never cease in the autumn and winter months and the unbearable heat of the harsh sun that burns and turns the soil into grey sand in spring and summer...

...Visitors who advance along the shore with hopeless steps as if fighting with death and summoning all their strength to resist it.

A young man named Sum and his beloved, a beautiful girl called Jeyran, keep up with the caravan in front of them and walk on in great hope. Their pure love and the power of the passion between them strengthen their faith that they will soon find water. Despite this, the strength in people’s legs and the light in their eyes fades along the way as thirst burns and burns inside them.

They come to a giant rock blocking access to water. To move it will require huge effort and courage.

- Whatever it takes, I will go and move that rock and bring you water!

Sum’s words give people hope. He looks at his beloved with eyes full of love and leaves her to go on his way. Sum’s beloved foresees a great tragedy and cries after him:

- Sum, qayit!... Sum, qayit!... Sum, qayit!... (Sum, come back!)

People turn to the horizon and settle into a hopeful wait. There is questioning in every gaze. “I wonder if Sum will be able to move the rock blocking the water”.

Sum is a very brave and courageous young man. The desire to save people from thirst and give them water seems to give new strength to his arms. He struggles with the rock and manages to move it against all expectations. Then a wild torrent of water spreads across the surrounding area. There are exclamations of joy from the people who hear the rush of water. They cheer each other as they see the water approaching. But Jeyran cannot congratulate her beloved for his brave and courageous deed. Sum disappears under the waves. Jeyran, who cannot bear the tragedy, throws herself into the lake. They say that ever since then one place has been called “Sumqayit” and the place where Jeyran died has been “Jeyranbatan” (Drowned Jeyran).

This is a people’s legend...

“Moscow, 1935.

**A new energy centre to be
built on Absheron Peninsula
to provide Baku with electricity”**

(decision of the USSR People's Commissars Soviet)

In the mid 1930s planning began on a number of projects intended to supply Baku with electricity. One of the projects, prepared in Moscow in 1935, concerned the building of a Thermal Power Station in the Sumqayit region of Baku. This would partially resolve the electricity supply problem for one of the country's giant oil centres.

In 1936, work began on a barracks and facilities for the workers and technical-engineering crew who were to construct Sumqayit Thermal Power Station.

Besides the power station, it was also planned to build a metallurgy factory. The selection of Sumqayit as the site of a new industrial centre in Azerbaijan was no accident. Firstly, Sumqayit was close to Baku, capital of the republic. And this created highly beneficial conditions for the industrial, scientific-technical and cultural development of the future city.

Soon the foundations of the Azerbaijani Pipe, Aluminium and Synthetic-Rubber plants had also been laid. Young people from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Uzbekistan and Estonia arrived to construct the industrial plants. There was also a large influx from Azerbaijan's regions.

By decision of the USSR State Security Committee, the Southern Caucasus Industrial Construction trust was established in Sumqayit on 17 January 1944. This trust dealt not only with the construction of Sumqayit, but also with the construction of industrial plants in Georgia and Armenia.

Sumqayit was given city status on 22 November 1949 by order of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. By then, 6,400 people were working in Sumqayit. It took courage and bravery from people to work there. The intensive labour would often lead people to exhaustion. The workers were forced to labour for 12-14 hours a day. Conditions were terribly severe in winter. Freezing, stormy weather and the cold northern wind coming off the sea created extremely difficult working conditions. Some were scared off, some could not sustain the tough manual work and

some left Sumqayit for easier sources of income. However, there were also many patriotic and selfless young people. They worked diligently to build the new Sumqayit city and its industrial plants, and applied themselves conscientiously to the tasks assigned them.

The first pipes were produced at the Azerboru plant and shipped to Baku's oilmen in 1952. Then a number of metallurgists working in metal plants across the Soviet Union began arriving in Sumqayit. Most of them worked to raise the standards of local cadres. Some of those who went to Sumqayit preferred to live in 'Youth' city laid out on the Caspian shore and they never left. Among them Podqorniy, Telzner, Kovalyov, Alexandrov, Ivanov, Medvedev and others can be cited as examples. 1953 saw the first processing of non-ferrous metals in the Aluminium plant. By 1955 the population of Sumqayit had reached 40,000.

The hard work done in Sumqayit by industrious people was highly appreciated. There were many valued workers in the different plants and organizations. And they were marked by their leaders. For their notable contributions to labour, Murad Zeynalov, Zamina Hasanova, Tofiq Karimov, the construction engineer Aslan Osmanov, the chemists Shamshad Panahov, Dadash Dadashov and Aghakhan Aghayev from Sumqayit were honoured with the title Hero of Socialist Labour by decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Asgar Abdullayev, director of the Neftqazavtomat Scientific Research Institute was awarded the USSR State Prize. Thus was the labour of the Sumqayit workers appreciated.

One could talk for hours about the success of Sumqayit and its people. We will now offer the reader further information.

WHAT HAPPENED IN SUMQAYIT IN FEBRUARY 1988?

In February 1988 Armenian nationalists organised mass meetings in Stepanakert. They demanded that Nagorno-Karabakh be removed from the Republic of Azerbaijan and annexed to the Republic of Armenia. This demand was unconstitutional. Waves of protest against the Armenians' unjust demands increased in Baku, Sumqayit and other regions of Azerbaijan. They were in support of the integrity of the territory of Azerbaijan.

Sumqayit has travelled a difficult but glorious path for 65 years. A question arises: well, how were people living in a city called the 'city of friendship' that united people of 82 nationalities and ethnic groups, people who had put stone on stone and built a large city and lived in a multinational family, how were they able to conduct a bloody action in Sumqayit with the help of a group of extremists on the night of 28-29 February 1988? Who was it that betrayed this friendship? Who promoted the 'Nagorno-Karabakh problem'? What powers pushed, instructed and funded these events?

Various views on these questions circulate in other countries. The Armenian mass media continues to confuse readers with their made-up stories endeavouring to prove a so-called 'genocide of Armenians' in Sumqayit.

As mentioned above, in this book we will try to take an objective approach to the question "What happened in Sumqayit?" 25 years ago and prove who was right and who was wrong by relying on the truth.

Serious academic and journalistic research shows that the real causes of these events were related neither to Sumqayit nor to its inhabitants, because there were never feuds between Azerbaijani, Armenian, nor residents of other nationalities in Sumqayit on socio-political, national-ethnic or religious issues. The Sumqayit events have deeper roots and a broader scale and, as also mentioned above, the events were rather more political than simply a matter of "hooliganism" between two nationalities.

The Sumqayit events must be viewed within the context of Nagorno-Karabakh. Under the illusion of building a 'Great Armenia', the leaders of

the Republic of Armenia, nationalist forces, Dashnak Party activists and intelligence agencies were aggravating Azerbaijani-Armenian relations and espousing separatism. With Russia taking Armenia's side, bloody actions were carried out in Armenia according to a script written by the USSR State Security Committee, Armenia's special service agencies and the Armenian lobby abroad.

The Sumqayit events were connected to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem which, in turn, was related to plans concerning the fall of the USSR.

Observations and research show that eliminating the social ill of 'historical forgetfulness', the subject of numerous discussions, has become an extremely difficult task. But it is necessary to carry out continued serious and fundamental work to counteract this problem, to unmask Armenia's cunning and disgusting policy and bring it to the world's attention. Because it is so necessary to conduct a thorough analysis of why the diversion took place in Sumqayit, the forces behind it and for what purpose it was executed, we will try to disclose the essence and the roots, the organizers and those who actually took part in the events that occurred from 27-29 February 1988.

As soon as information came in about the outbreak of mass diversions and violence in Sumqayit on 28 February, Chief Legal Counsel Ismat Qayibov, City Prosecutor of Sumqayit, signed an order to open a criminal case and initiate an investigation as follows.

ПОСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ

(о возбуждении уголовного дела)

"28" февраля 1988г.

г. Сумгаит

Прокурор города Сумгаита старший советник юстиции
Гаибов И.И., рассмотрев материалы о массовых беспорядках в
городе Сумгаите,

У с т а н о в и л :

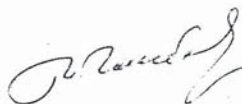
28 февраля 1988 года на территории города Сумгаита имели
место массовые беспорядки, сопровождавшиеся погромами, разруше-
ниями жилищных помещений, занимаемых лицами армянской националь-
ности, а также иными насильственными действиями в отношении
последних.

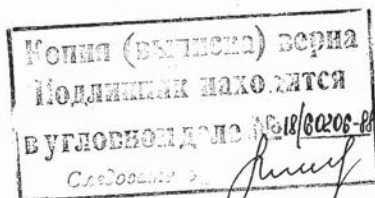
На основании изложенного, руководствуясь ст.ст.104-109, 131
УПК Азерб.ССР,

П о с т а н о в и л :

В о з б у д и т ь по материалам уголовное дело по признакам
ст.72 УК Азерб.ССР и приступить к расследованию.

Прокурор города Сумгаита
старший советник юстиции

 И.И. ГАИБОВ



DECREE
(Criminal proceedings)

28 February 1988

Sumqayit

The Prosecutor of the city of Sumqayit, Chief Legal Counsel I. I. Qayibov, after reviewing the materials concerning mass diversions in the city of Sumqayit

DECIDED:

On 28 February 1988 mass disorders, theft, destruction of the homes of people of Armenian nationality, as well as cases of violence against them, have occurred in the territory of Sumqayit.

Based on the abovementioned and guided by articles 104-109 and 131 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR,

It has been decided:

A criminal case be raised and an investigation commenced according to the materials relating to the criminal case and based on article 72 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR.

Prosecutor of the city of Sumqayit
Chief Legal Counsel
I. I. Qayibov

After the disorders in Sumqayit were terminated, by decision of A. F. Katusev Chief Prosecutor of the USSR, on 1 March 1988, the criminal cases began to be processed by the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the USSR. An investigation group of 231 people led by V. S. Qalkin, investigator of serious crimes under the USSR Chief Prosecutor was formed. The investigation group dealing with this case consisted of lawyers, criminologists, psychologists, medical staff etc. from different regions of the USSR. There were only 43 people from the law enforcement agencies of the Azerbaijan SSR in the investigation group. (*Most of them were removed from this work later. - author*)



It was determined during the investigation process that “mass disorders were carried out in the city of Sumqayit of the Azerbaijan SSR by “hooligans” from 27-29 February 1988. 32 people died, more than 400 people suffered injuries of varying severity, the apartments of 250 people were attacked and destroyed, 50 cultural-welfare facilities were damaged and more than 40 vehicles were wrecked or burnt as a result of these disorders. 7 million roubles-worth of damage was caused to state property.”

(See the Prosecution case of criminal case 18/55461-88, vol. 1 i.v. 59-60)

These, then, are the officially announced facts and there is no basis to doubt them. Despite this, there is disagreement about the number of people killed in these disorders who were originally Armenian. We will discuss the reasons for and purposes of these disagreements separately, a little later. For now let us answer the question below.

WHO STOOD BEHIND THE UNREST?

In the first stage of the investigation **1050 people were arrested** as suspects; some were held accountable for minor and some for serious criminal liability. 55 criminal cases involving **97 people were sent to the courts** for consideration: 92 Azerbaijanis, 2 Russians, 2 Lezgis and 1 Armenian. The criminal cases against 183 people facing criminal proceedings, including 38 for premeditated murder and 42 for violence, were dropped for lack of evidence.

Among those arrested following the unrest were people of different nationalities - Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians, Jews and others. There were extremist groups, criminals, terrorists, saboteurs, drug and alcohol addicts among the Sumqayit 'hooligans' bought by the Armenians. 30 of them were jobless (we should inform our younger readers that in those times everyone was provided with a job and being unemployed was socially unacceptable - author).

According to the investigation materials, **444 people were brought to trial**; 400 of them were held in jail for 10-15 days. Some were sentenced to long-term imprisonment and Ahmad Iman oghlu Ahmadov was sentenced to death. We should state that Ahmadov's case was reviewed hurriedly in Moscow and he was declared to be the 'organizer' of the Sumqayit events. It would be good to say more about this. A group from the USSR Chief Prosecutor's office raided Ahmadov's house on 12 March 1988, captured him half-naked in the bathroom and put him in a car.

On 18 October 1988, the USSR Supreme Court opened the trial of Ahmadov, Jafarov and Ismayilov. The day the trial began the *Kheberlar*(News) programme on the *Ostankino* TV channel (now the *Vremya* news program on the *ORT TV* channel) broadcast to the whole world that the trial of three murderers from the Sumqayit events had started. The next day Moscow's mass media informed the public. The trial of those guilty of the mass unrest in Sumqayit started in the building of the USSR Supreme Court in Moscow. A. Ahmadov, T. Ismayilov and Q. Jafarov were found guilty of organising and active involvement in mass unrest causing theft, arson and murder.

Member of the USSR Supreme Court R. K. Brize presided over the trial. The USSR Supreme Court people's assessors V. A. Kuznetsov and

S. Smirnov were also involved. The State Prosecutor was USSR Deputy Chief Prosecutor D. Kozlovski (*Izvestiya* newspaper, 19.10.1988).

It became clear as we examine the guilty verdict and the interrogation of witnesses that none of the three defendants were as guilty as accused by the investigation agencies. They had simply participated in those events and robberies without committing serious crimes. When the materials were returned to investigation, pressure was exerted on the court.

At that time an interview with V. Terebilov, head of the USSR Supreme Court was published in the magazine *Novoye Vremya*. Terebilov complained about pressure from above on the trial process, particularly from the office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; he demanded that the Court should be independent. Terebilov noted later that the USSR Supreme Court was processing the Ahmadov, Jafarov and Ismayilov case at that time. As a result of the pressure from above, the court staff were forced to put aside their objectivity and humanity and work to create as far as possible an image of Ahmadov as the organiser.

The newspaper *Moskovskie Novosti* wrote on 20 November 1988: **“The lawyers believe that the investigation of this case is not complete. The organisers of the crimes have not been found and the causes and manner of their occurrence have not been clarified”. Despite this, the USSR Supreme Court judges made the following decision on 18 November 1988: “The criminal materials concerning Javadov and Ismayilov to be returned to investigation for review. A. Ahmadov to be sentenced to the ultimate penalty”.**

We have said this over and over again: if there is crime, there must be punishment. This is demanded by the LAW. Despite this, we would like to introduce briefly our thoughts about Ahmadov.

How just was it to describe an immature young man as the organiser of the disorders in the giant industrial city of Sumqayit? It is a matter of historical experience that in order to create such disorders, large-scale organizations are created and professionals drawn in, in advance. Days, weeks and months are spent on such work and material and ideological weapons are prepared. In an event of this scale what can be said about organisational work by Ahmad Ahmadov?

We do not deny Ahmadov's participation in the Sumqayit events. What seems obscure to us and upsets many people is how a young man newly

graduated from the technical school could become the organiser of those disturbances? There is no logic to this. This is what Moscow wanted and this is what happened.

ВЫНЕСЕН ПРИГОВОР

Закончилось заседание судебной коллегии по уголовным делам Азербайджанской ССР под председательством члена Президиума Верховного суда Т. А. Забранной (народные заседатели А. Г. Нагиев — слесарь-ремонтник бакинской фабрики спорттоваров и С. С. Петросян — инженер Бакинского производственного объединения «Ювелирпром») с участием государственного и общественного обвинителей — прокурора г. Сумгаита, старшего советника юстиции И. И. Гаибова, преподавателя профтехучилища № 7 А. Х. Иманова, адвоката городской юридической консультации А. Г. Абдуллаева.

Рассмотрено дело Гарибо-

ва Яшара Ханлар оглы, несовершеннолетнего учащегося Сумгаитского профтехучилища № 7, члена ВЛКСМ, ранее к суду не привлекавшегося, которому предъявлено обвинение в непосредственном участии в массовых беспорядках 29 февраля 1988 года и нанесении телесных повреждений В. В. Саркисяну.

Суд признал Я. Х. Гарибова виновным в совершении этих преступлений, на основании статьи 72 и статьи 105 Уголовного кодекса Азербайджанской ССР приговорил его к шести годам лишения свободы с отбыванием наказания в воспитательно-трудовой колонии для несовершеннолетних.

Criminal case 18/60206, raised by the Republic of Azerbaijan following the mass disorders occurring in Sumqayit was later divided into several separate proceedings. The reason was mainly the sheer volume of work involved in the investigation. The following is from the bill of indictment for criminal case 18/55461-88:

“Hundreds of citizens participated in the organisation of this crime. The robbing and burning of apartments, beatings, rape and killings have been committed by uncontrolled groups of hooligans. Some have been identified by the investigation, arrested and brought to criminal account. Some have already been sentenced. It has been established that they committed crimes in different districts and blocks in Sumqayit at different

times on 27, 28 and 29 February 1988. The investigation of their criminal activities continues and will take a long time yet. (This last sentence was of course written on order from above, it was intended to calm the community and gain time -author)

The criminal case was divided into several separate proceedings due to the massive amount of investigative material and the large number of participants in crime. Further, the criminal case concerning Nizami Sumbat oghlu Safarov, Qalib Qadirshah oghlu Mammadov, Vaqif Vahabali oghlu Huseynov, Nadir Ahmadkhan oghlu Najafov, Elchin Ali oghlu Ganjaliyev, Afsar Islam oghlu Isayev and Eduard Robertovich Grigoryan, who participated in these events, has been referred to separate proceedings on 30 December 1988.” (Vol 1, i.v. 1-3)

We should also note that the actions of the above-named seven criminals are the main focus in accounts of the Sumqayit events in the mass media, different books and on the internet. Extensive and thorough information is given there about the role played in these events by the Armenian Eduard Grigoryan from this group.

Research has shown that after implementing orders from the State Security Committee and a group of Armenian nationalists behind the Sumqayit events, Grigoryan had been ordered to leave Sumqayit. But by chance he was detained by the military and victims of the events had recognised him.

We may conclude that if Eduard Grigoryan had not been arrested by the military, the reputation of the people of Azerbaijan would have been maligned before the world community from Moscow, where Gorbachev ruled. And Sumqayit would have gone down in history as a far from civilised city of bandits and criminals. However, neither Moscow’s officials, nor the Armenian nationalists achieved this.

The extensive work and the information acquired by the Chief Prosecutor’s Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan allow us to record that plenty of materials about Grigoryan have been collected, and they will be presented to the reader.

We would like to inform readers that all the crimes that took place in Sumqayit have been subject to proceedings and eventually taken to court. As we said above, wherever is crime, there should be punishment. It is a pity that after the Sumqayit events of 1988, Armenian ideologists

organized a huge propaganda campaign in the various international mass media claiming that the law enforcement agencies of Azerbaijan had been loyal to the criminals who participated in the disorders and had released most of them from imprisonment. But the facts prove that these claims are without foundation and tend towards slander.

It is clear from the local media that the criminals who participated in the Sumqayit disorders were taken to court and deprived of their freedom for various lengths of time.

THE COURT HAS MADE A DECISION

The meeting of the Court Collegium on criminal matters chaired by T. A. Zabranina, a member of the Praesidium of the Supreme Court of the Azerbaijan SSR has concluded. Other participants were state and public prosecutors; the Sumqayit city prosecutor, Chief Legal Counsel I. I. Qayibov; A. K. Imanov, a teacher at Technical Skills School 7 and A. Q. Abdullayev, lawyer at the city law office. (People's assessors: A. Q. Naghiyev, a toolmaker at the Baku Sport Goods factory and S. S. Petrosyan, an engineer at the Jewellery Industry Union).

Garibov Yashar Khanlar oghlu, a student at Sumqayit's Technical Skills School 7 and member of the Lenin comsomol (All-Soviet Lenin Communist Youth Union), who had never previously been arrested, had participated in the mass disorders on 29 February 1988 and caused bodily harm to S. S. Sarkisyan.

According to article 105 of paragraph 72 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR, the court sentenced Y. K. Garibov to 6 years of loss of freedom in the juvenile Corrective Labour Colony (*Kommunist Sumqayita* May 1988).

The Armenian nationalists who failed to achieve their goals began to publish unfounded and exaggerated materials about the murders committed in Sumqayit from 27-29 February 1988 in the press of Armenia, Russia and other countries. They claimed that not 32 people, but more Armenians were killed in Sumqayit, as they made up stories from a national ideology built on falsification. But our priority in these writings is to look to the law

and established facts rather than to falsifications. When necessary, we take it as our duty to refer to official law-enforcement sources.

NOTE TO THE FOLLOWING QUOTATION

“The Sumqayit events are related to events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The mass disorders that started in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region on 22 February intensified the situation in Sumqayit, which is one of the biggest industrial centres in Azerbaijan. The results are clear. 32 people have been killed. 94 instigators and participants have been arrested. Various false stories around Sumqayit diverted the investigation. For example, there were rumours that special metal sticks and other instruments had been prepared in a number of institutions and the employees of some communication units deliberately unplugged telephones in Armenian homes. In order to check this and other similar rumours the investigators interrogated many Sumqayit residents, institution workers, workers in the Housing and Communal Service Institutions, communication units and other departments. None of these rumours were confirmed.”

A.F.Katusev
USSR Deputy Chief Prosecutor
(Izvestiya newspaper, 1988)

List of people who died in the mass unrest in Sumqayit from 27-29 February 1988

I. Armenians

1. **Avakyan Yuriy Bagratovich**, Sumqayit, 3rddistrict, building 5/2, apartment 47

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 19:00-20:00.

Investigators: Oskin Nikolay Dmitriyevich, Bondarenko Pavel Pavlovich

2. **Trdatov Qabriel Abramovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1925, 3rd district, building 6/2, apartment 6

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 19:00-24:00

Investigators: Kassuk Alexander Stepanovich, Avtandilov Oleg Yuryevich

3. **Arushanyan Vladimir Ovanesovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1936. 3rd district, building 6/2, apartment 16

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 20:00-24:00.

Investigators: Boytsov Michael Ilyich, Qurshaya Vyacheslav Borisovich

4. **Movsesova Yersilya Bakhshiyevna**, Sumqayit, born in 1902, 3rd district, building 6/2a, apartment 18

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 20:00-24:00.

Investigators: Musin Valeriy Fyodorovich, Devidenko Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich

5. **Aramyan Arno Ashotovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1928. 3rd district, building 6/2a, apartment 21

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 20:00-24:00

Investigators: Kormishkin Alexander Vasilyevich, Kashshuk Alexander Stepanovich, Kolobashkin Yevgeniy Ivanovich, Abdullayev Vagif Kamal oghlu

6. **Avakyan Lola Pavlovna**, Sumqayit, born in 1961. Block 45, building 10/13, apartment 37.

The murder was committed on 28 February, at 21:00.

Investigators: Ilyin Oleg Serafimovich, Qameza Valeriy Ivanovich, Ibrahimov Akif Qudret oghlu, Huseynov Eldeniz Hasrat oghlu.

7. **Qambaryan Alexander Alexandrovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1926, 3rd district, building 17, apartment 40

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 18:00-19:00

Investigators: Fyodorov Anatoliy Ivanovich, Karabulin Alexander Konstantinovich, Akhundov Sakhavat Bahadur oghlu, Sorochikhin Valeriy Pavlovich.

8. **Babayan Arshak Arslanovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1934. Block 4, building 27a, apartment 12.

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 23:00-24:00

Investigators: Simerenko Sergey Borisovich, Shtefanyuk Matfeevich, Javadov M. B.

9. **Avanesyan Albert Manvelovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1955, Block 5, building 28/19, apartment 1

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 22:00-24:00

Investigators: Valeyev Shamil Vazikhovich, Zanko Anatoliy Ivanovich, Piss Valeriy Vasilyevich

10. **Avanesyan Valeriy Manvelovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1957, Block 5^t, building 28/19, apartment 1.

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 22:00-24:00

Investigators: Valeyev Shamil Vazikhovich, Zanko Anatoliy Ivanovich, Piss Valeriy Vasilyevich

11. **Malkumyan Soqomon Markarovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1932, Block 41a, building 2/b, apartment 21

12. **Aramyan Artur Armovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1963, 3rd district, building 6/2a, apartment 21

13. **Malkumyan Igor Soqomonovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1957, Block 41a, building 2/b, apartment 21

14. **Malkumyan Eduard Soqomonovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1959, Block 41a, building 2/b, apartment 21

15. **Malkumyan Irina Soqomonovna**, Sumqayit, born in 1961, Block 41a, building 2/b, apartment 21

16. **Ambartsumyan Misha Arsenovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1941, 4th district, building 18/24, apartment 2

All murders were committed on 29 February, at 21:00.

Investigators: Kharitonov Iqor Alexandrovich, Sosnin Viktor Anatolyevich, Boytsov Michael Ilyich, Voytin Nicolay Vasilyevich, Mammadov Zeynal.

17. **Arakelyan Artash Levonovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1937, Block 41a, building 5a, apartment 9

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 19:00-20:00

Investigators: Taradanov Yevgeniy Alexandrovich, Qurshay Vyaceslav Borisovich, Lisyakov V. P.

18. **Danielyan Nicolay Artyomovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1939, 3rd district, building 4/1, apartment 25.

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 21:00-22:00.

Investigators: Paramov Alexander Vasilyevich, Ostin Nicolay Dmitriyevich, Mikhaylovski Valentin Alexandrovich.

19. **Danielyan Seda Osipovna**, Sumqayit, born in 1938, 3rd district, building 4/2, apartment 25

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 23:00-24:00.

Investigators: Bondarenko Pavel Pavlovich, Patra Yaroslav Semyonovich

20. **Martirosov Qarri Artyomovich**, Baku, born in 1954, Lenin Prospect., 43/16

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 18:00-19:00 at the entrance of the city of Sumqayit.

Investigators: Pavdovski Stanislav Yefimovich, Kozlenko Alexey Nikolayevich, Quliyev Ilham Nariman oghlu.

21. **Melkumyan Raisa Arsenovna**, Sumqayit, born in 1934, Block 41a, building 2/b, apartment 21

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 17:00-18:00.

Investigators: Mishin Vladimr Alexandrovich, Gerasimenko Sergey Anatolyevich

22. **Grigoryan Emma Shirinova**, Sumqayit, born in 1930, 3rd district, building 5/2, apartment 45

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 21:00-22:00

Investigators: Bernatski Petr Iosifovich, Kharchenko Alexander Vladimirovich

23. **Malkumyan Firuza Arakelovna**, Sumqayit, born in 1918, 17th district, building 51, apartment 59

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 17:00-18:00

Investigators: Summer Leonid Danilovich, Mozalyov Oleg Alexandrovich

24. **Tovmasyan Rafik Ambartsumovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1956, 3rd district, building 6/2a, apartment 8

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 21:00-22:00.

Investigators: Ilyin Oleg Serafimovich, Fyodorov Anatoliy Ivanovich.

25. **Mehdiyeva Tamara Gerasimovna**, Sumqayit, born in 1915, 3rd district, building 16, apartment 49

The murder was committed on 28 February, around 21:00.

Investigators: Ilyin Oleg Serafimovich, Qameza Valeriy Ivanovich.

26. **Sarkisyan Shagen Qareginovich**, Sumqayit, born in 1927, Block 5, building 14, apartment 16.

The murder was committed on 29 February, around 17:00-19:00.

Investigators: Varichev Yakov Nikolayevich, Shadura Pyotr Pavlovich.

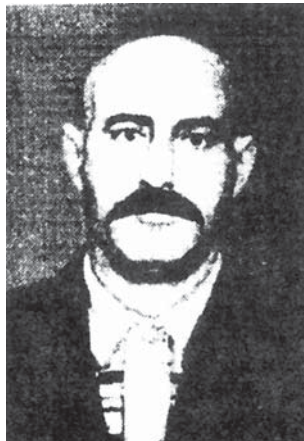
II. Azerbaijanis

Six Azerbaijanis were killed from 27-29 February 1988 during the Sumqayit disorders.

27. Babayev Vakil Karim oghlu.

He was born in Sighdash village, Masalli region, into the family of a collective farmer.

It was a large family. At the age of 15 Vakil went to Sumqayit. He began work as a labourer for the Zaqafqaziyatikinti Trust's 12th Road Construction Department. He sent at least some part of his salary to his parents in their village. As he grew older he had to change his job. For a while he worked at the Sumqayit Superfosfat and Household Chemicals factories and the Azerkimyatikinti Trust. He earned great respect at work as a skilful, hard-working and industrious man. Following the Sumqayit events Vakil did not return home in the first days of March. His family grew anxious. They went round Sumqayit's hospitals, but could not find him. His friends found him in Baku, in the morgue of the Republic Hospital. Vakil's body was unrecognizable. He had a large family. His eight children were left without a father.

**28. Khudashov Dadash Balash oghlu**

He was born in the village of Velishli in Yardimli region in 1942. He went to Sumqayit with his family in 1967 and started to work at the Azerboru factory. He had a very mild, peaceful and honest disposition. These qualities earned him the great respect of his colleagues. Dadash was going home from work at the beginning of March 1988. He saw an injured young man on the street and approached him. The young man was bleeding. He had been shot. Dadash picked up the young man, took him to a nearby newspaper kiosk and stood him against a wall. The man had dropped some of his belongings in the middle of the street. When Dadash went to collect them a BTR carrying officers and soldiers ran over him at high speed and Dadash was killed. His family found his body a



week later. He was buried in the village where he was born. Dadash Khudashov had four children.

29. Isgenderov Natiq Yadulla oghlu

He was born in Imishli region in 1965 and served in the army after graduating from secondary school.

After military service he decided on a future in Sumqayit. He started work at a house building plant. In the evenings he studied at the Azerbaijan Institute of Construction Engineers. He was a smart, well-mannered and educated young man. He had not participated in the Sumqayit disturbances, moreover he had not allowed his colleagues to join them. A BTR ran over Natiq when he was on his way back from work. His parents could not find Natiq's body for 15 days. On the 16th day it was found in the basement of Semashko Hospital in Baku. He was buried in the Imishli region where he was born and raised.



30. Orujov Janpolad Mahyaddin oghlu

He was born in the village of Sheki in the Sisyan region of Armenia in 1965. His parents had moved from Armenia to Azerbaijan. They had settled in Saray settlement, Absheron.

After graduating from the settlement's secondary school in 1982, Janpolad served in the army in Russia. After military service he applied to the Azerbaijan Oil and Chemistry Institute and was admitted. His student years began. He studied for three years. In March 1988 he was killed under the wheels of a bus driven by an Armenian taking Russian soldiers to Sumqayit. Local people rushed him to the city hospital. Janpolad lived for just three hours. His cerebral cortex was damaged. The doctors could do nothing. Even though Commandant Krayev was informed, no action was taken.



31. Aliyev Surkhay Valeh oghlu

He was born in Siznek village in the Armenian region of Qafan in 1971. Surkhay did not live long.

Only seventeen springs and seventeen winters... He had great dreams. To go to university, get a diploma, make his parents happy, start a family... Unfortunately a coward's bullets took him by surprise and killed Surkhay. The enemy's bullet did not let a young man's dreams bloom, he closed his eyes and entered eternity.

**32. Qasimov Yashar Nasreddin oghlu**

The body was buried in the city cemetery.

The reader should know that the young people who participated in the disorders were sent to prison by the court for their criminal actions. And six Azerbaijanis were victims of the violence of the Russian army and Armenians. 32 people were killed in the Sumqayit events. As mentioned above, 26 of them were Armenians. The criminals killed their victims with chisels, knives, rebar and pieces of metal with sharpened ends. Now a question emerges. We wonder who had given Russian soldiers permission to fire bullets. The Law Enforcement Agencies from Moscow were not even interested in this. This means that the bullets were fired at someone's secret order!

General Krayev had given an order that the Soviet troops were there to achieve peace, to do no violence and that no bullets were to be fired.

But how did it happen that 17-year-old Surkhay Aliyev was killed by a bullet in Sumqayit? There is still no answer to this question. Maybe this was by instruction of the special agencies? And their purpose was to create a negative image of Azerbaijanis by increasing the number of murders in Sumqayit and to disgrace them before the world? Who knows? Maybe!

There is evidence that Armenians played their part in the murder of these six innocent people. Research indicates that on 30.12.88 the military and Russian investigators halted the investigations into the murders during the mass disorders of D. Khudashov, D. Orujov, N. Isgenderov, S. Aliyev and V. Babayev by the Baku Garrison's Military Prosecution.

We can see from the investigation by the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan that Baku resident Valeri Markaryan, who was Armenian by origin and known for his extremist ideas, and Russian soldiers caused the death of several Azerbaijanis. After driving the soldiers to Sumqayit in a bus, Markaryan took the opportunity to deliberately drive the bus at four Azerbaijanis standing in the street and killed them. Markaryan committed murder in front of the soldiers but no measures were taken against him. The situation is clear. We think there is no need for explanation.

Despite this we would like express what we think about Markaryan.

Baku resident Yusif Mammadov, who was questioned as a witness, worked as a driver from bus station N°1 in Baku during the Sumqayit events. In his explanation to the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan he said: "We took the Russian soldiers to Sumqayit from the auto-park (8 buses) on 29 February 1988. They got off in front of the city's party committee. After returning to Baku I heard that a driver in the motor transportation team Markaryan Valeriy, who was Armenian by origin, had entered Sumqayit with the Russian troops, saw a crowd in front of him, drove his bus at them and, as a result, a few Azerbaijanis had been killed. Markaryan had fled the scene."

Witnesses Amrah Babayev, Rasim Shikhaliyev and Maharram Qurbanov confirmed Mammadov's words. According to them, Markaryan was a member of the Krunk society. Many Armenians were working in the auto-park. "In early 1988 he would say: 'Nagorno-Karabakh will be ours, this has already been decided in Moscow'. We never paid attention to his words. Later when the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was raised we recalled Markaryan's words. He was a very malicious and chauvinistic man. He did not get along with most people in the auto-park. He was very rude and would not communicate much with the Azerbaijani people".

Besides the murders that took place in Sumqayit, many residents of Sumqayit, including 23 Armenians, 7 Russians and 50 Azerbaijanis received various bodily injuries. Below is a list of their names.

List of people who received various bodily injuries in Sumqayit during the mass disorders from 27-29 February 1988

	Last name, first name, patronymic	Birth date	Address
1	Meshdiyev Murtuz Aliheydar oghlu	1928	12 th district, building 6, apt.38
2	Mehtiyev Qahraman Bashir oghlu	1948	1 st district, building 19/43, apt.22
3	Nuriyev Valeriy Qushu oghlu	1960	3 rd district, building 11/8, apt.26
4	Avanesyan Julyetta Aleksandrovna	1949	4 th district, building 21/29, apt.81
5	Mammadov Aydin Ahmad oghlu	1949	3 rd district, building 19/33, apt.37
6	Panahov Panah	1956	11 th district, building 34, apt.20
7	Marrazyan Yuriy Aleksandrovich	1949	4 th district, building 27/10, apt.34
8	Arutunyan Gungen Sergeyevich	1924	3 rd district, building 21/31, apt.16
9	Martirosyan Ararat Andreyevich	1927	Baku, Kirov str. 17
10	Martirosyan Izabella Aleksandrovna	1928	Baku, Kirov str. 17
11	Heydarov Perverdigar Huseyn oghlu	1965	2 nd district, building 18, apt.26
12	Qasimov Heydar Qazanfar oghlu	1957	1 st block, building 5(a), apt.19
13	Bilbilayev Ibrahim Mammad oghlu	1948	Baku, 9 th Bukhta alley, building 25, apt.2
14	Yahyayev Bakhtiyar Alisultan oghlu	1957	42 nd block, dormitory no 16, room 16
15	Alekperov Ramiz Maharram oghlu	1954	Khachmaz, Lenin str. 43

16	Jabrayilov Rovshan Malik oghlu	1962	Nasoslu settlement, SMP dormitory, room 1
17	Ashrafov Latif Jabir oghlu	1966	10 th district, building 2, apt. 11
18	Aliyev Sameddin Hasan oghlu	1946	Qusar, PMK-3, building 2
19	Mikhailyan Boris Khudanovich	1962	2 nd district, building 2, apt. 31
20	Allahverdiyev Adalat Ali oghlu	1963	Dostluq str. 34, dormitory 1, room 40
21	Damirchiyev Nukhbala Jamil oghlu	1930	5 th district, building 6, apt 36
22	Arakelov Andrey Vladimirovich	1964	4 th block, building 19/14, apt. 7
23	Ayvazyan Lyudviq Eqishovich	1948	17 th block, building 4, apt. 9
24	Martirosyan Qarik Kasumovich	1965	Baku, Kirov str. 21
25	Huseynov Yashar Shukur oghlu	1939	Baku, Krasin 48, apt 14
26	Qabrielyan Armo Aronovich	1944	34 th block, building 8, apt 36
27	Podiyev Vladimir Setrakovich	1934	4 th district, building 24, apt 51
28	Quliyev Kamil Qudrat oghlu	1966	4 th district, building 16, apt 5
29	Aliyev Rufat Kamil oghlu	1964	Baku, Yusifzade str. 65, apt 30
30	Novruzov Nazim Shamsaddinovich	1964	1 st district, building 5/7, apt 20
31	Naghiyev Azad Ovezdrushevich	1968	Baku-117, h/h 5456 (a)
32	Ismayilov Telman Laghbet oghlu	1963	18 th district, building 4, apt 1

33	Allazov Aslan Rashid oghlu	1968	Bilajari, military quarters 5456
34	Malik Oleg Anatalyevich	1967	Bilajari, military quarters 5456
35	Strelyakov Iqor Lvovich	1969	Bilajari, military quarters 5456
36	Qambarov Habib Ashur oghlu	1968	1sdt district, building 17/31, apt 18
37	Akimov Alexandr Qriqoryevich	1962	Baku, Yusifzade str. 15
38	Quliyev Eldar Ali oghlu	1940	Baku, Qoqol str. 48, apt 9
39	Qadimov Jamal Chingiz oghlu	1969	Bilajari, military quarters 5456
40	Lyubimov Sergey Valentinovich	1968	Bilajari, military quarters 5456
41	Skobkarev Alexandr Serqeyevich	1967	Bilajari, military quarters 5456
42	Parshin Iqor Viktorovich	1966	Bilajari, military quarters 5456
43	Zakharyan Olga Mikhaylovna	1962	8 th district, building 27/16, apt 67
44	Qazaryan Erush Vaqanovna	1930	36 th block, building 22, apt 41
45	Farajov Telman Qurban oghlu	1965	15 th block, dormitory 3, room 56
46	Ayrumyan Armais Avtovazovich	1961	5 th block, building 11/18, apt 29
47	Rahimkhanova Aghakhanim Aghakishi qizi	1950	6 th district, building 20, apt 143
48	Danielyan Vitaliy Nikolayevich	1972	3 rd district, building 4/3, apt 25
49	Karimov Abbas Karim oghlu	1935	1 st district, building 13/31, apt 7

50	Petrosyan Manvel Isamirovich	1938	1 st district, building 14/33, apt 58
51	Baqdarasyan Albert Vladimirovich	1972	6 th block, building 11, apt 7
52	Safaryan Irina Rikovna	1963	34 th block, building 12, apt 26
53	Qafarov Ashur	1929	10 th district, building 10, apt 20
54	Shamil Amirshah	1938	12 th district, building 31, apt 33
55	Alesgerov Aydin Ilyas oghlu	1960	Baku-118, Chernishevski-8
56	Adigozelov Mammad Babakishi oghlu	1951	11th district, building 8, apt 27
57	Zakaryan Boris Movsesovich	1922	9th district, building 49, apt 12
58	Abbasov Sharif Habib oghlu	1960	6th district, building 8, apt 4
59	Ibrahimov Sovhan Ibrahim oghlu	1940	9th district, building 68, apt 13
60	Qasimov Haji Qasim oghlu	1933	9th district, building 51, apt 77
61	Yunusov Baba Yunus oghlu	1949	5th district building 59, apt 6
62	Mammadov Azer Hasan oghlu	1961	11th district, building 23, apt 46
63	Kutko Iqor Aleksandrovich	1969	Omsk, Autilovi str. building 3, apt 93
64	Mustafayev Raza Mustafa oghlu	1929	14th block, building 4/46, apt 20
65	Ramazanov Mikayil Hasan oghlu	1972	41th block, building 1, apt 6
66	Mammadov Agha Akbar oghlu	1966	34th block, building 12/16, apt 37

67	Ibishov Ehtibar Hasan oghlu	1969	Hostel resident
68	Mehrallyev Mehrali Ali oghlu	1968	Baku, Fabrisius str. 37
69	Shafiyev Nail Surkhay oghlu	1957	2nd district, building 21/16, apt 16
70	Ibrahimov Elman Mammad oghlu	1971	Saray settlement, 1 May str. building 15, apt 2
71	Muradov Ehtibar Adil oghlu	1971	Sumqayit, no address
72	Allahverdiyev Bahram	1972	Boarding-school no 2
73	Mustafayev Adalat Yashar oghlu	1965	1st district, building 9/5, apt 52
74	Karimov Javan Hasan oghlu	1972	17th district, building 42, apt 23
75	Mursalov Gunesh	1964	Inshaatchilar settlement, building 16, apt 2
76	Babayan Arsuk Adamovich	1929	41st block, building 1, apt 45
77	Avakyan Aleksandr Sukratovich	1959	45th block, building 10/13, apt 30
78	Arakelyan Asya Tiqrانovna	1947	41st block, building 5A, apt 9
79	Plavdjan Aleksey Akopovich	1933	8th district, building 24a, apt 9
80	Arakelyan Roza Rafikovna	1965	Baku str. building 17/2 apt 63

We repeat once more: a crime has been committed! Those who committed this crime must be punished! This is required by the law, and first of all by justice and humanity! Those who have committed a crime must be punished according to the law. This must be an axiom to ensure social coexistence. Thus it is natural that people who participated in the mass disorders in Sumqayit must be brought to court and punished. Below is the list of people who were sentenced to various penalties by the courts of Azerbaijan (Baku and Sumqayit) and different cities of the USSR (Moscow, Volgograd, Voronezh, Samara).

**Criminal Cases tried by the collegium of the 1st level court
under the Supreme Criminal Court of the Azerbaijan SSR:**

1. *Bakhishov Parviz Farman oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years imprisonment under article 72 Criminal Code on 29 March 1989.
2. *Efendiyev Mahmud Qurban oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 29 August 1988.
3. Juvenile *Mammadov Vugar Marifat oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years and 3 months detention on 2 September 1988.
4. *Balayev Mazahir Qazanfar oghlu* – sentenced to 9 years imprisonment on 24 August 1988.
5. *Isayev Elchin Muhammad oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 17 February 1989.
6. *Ismayilov Taleh Saleh oghlu* – sentenced to 15 years imprisonment on 16 May 1988.
7. *Mammadov Rufat Binyamin oghlu, Jumshudov Vagif Qulam oghlu, Mammadov Yusif Mukhtar oghlu and Aliyev Aghahuseyn Abdulkuseyn oghlu* – each sentenced to 2 years and 6 months imprisonment on 22 September 1988.
8. *Azimov Sadiq Sahib oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 13 January 1989; *Valiyev Elman Balaja oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years imprisonment in the same trial.
9. *Hajiyeve Mansim Bolshevik oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years imprisonment on 21 September 1988.
10. *Ahmadov Tariyel Malik oghlu, Asadov Oruj Qureyish oghlu and Dadashov Ilkin Shirali oghlu* - sentenced to 2 years imprisonment on 31 October 1988.
11. *Mammadov Dilqam Qamad oghlu* – sentenced to 6 years imprisonment on 29 November 1988; *Davudov Vidadi Zalil oghlu* – 3 years; *Qurbanov Sabir Qubush oghlu* – 4 years; *Mehdiguliyev Shakir Ali oghlu* – 6 years; *Qasimov Jovdar Qanber oghlu* – 3 years; *Salmanov Muhammad Maharram oghlu* – 2 years.
12. *Aliyev Balami Hasanquli oghlu* – sentenced to 9 years imprisonment on 30 December 1988.
13. *Hajiyeve Namiq Baloghlan oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years and 6 months imprisonment on 9 February 1989.

14. *Babayev Sanan Oruj oghlu* – 23 August 1988, 4 years; *Abbasov Rovshan Ilyas oghlu* and *Habibov AlimAziz oghlu* – each sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

15. *Huseynov Ilqar Manaf oghlu* – sentenced to 4 years imprisonment on 28 March 1989.

16. Juvenile *Qaribov Yashar Khanlar oghlu* – sentenced to 6 years detention on 24 May 1988.

17. *Ismayilov Ilham Azad oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 31 May 1988; *Jafarov Yaver Qiyas oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years imprisonment in the same trial.

18. *Rzayev Vidadi Hijmaddin oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 10 August 1988.

19. *Abbasov Elham Adigozel oghlu* – sentenced to 7 years imprisonment on 10 November 1988.

20. *Mirzayev Akbar Mirza oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 31 October 1988.

21. *Najafov Alemdar Tabriz oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years imprisonment on 17 August 1988.

22. *Tahmazov Zabit Suren oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years imprisonment on 18 August 1988.

23. *Bayramov Yashar Qurban oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 17 August 1988.

24. *Abbasov Akif Penahali oghlu* – sentenced to 9 years imprisonment on 2 August 1988.

25. *Ibishov Aydin Inshallah oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 27 May 1988.

26. *Haziyeve Sakhavat Fazil oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment 29 September 1988.

27. *Karimov Sherafet Musa oghlu* – sentenced to 4 years imprisonment on 5 August 1988.

28. *Huseynov Nizami Qambar oghlu* – sentenced to 5 years imprisonment on 11 April 1989; *Guliyev Abdul Shamsaddin oghlu* – for 7 years; *Rzayev Vidadi Mikayil oghlu* – for 8 years in the same trial.

29. *Huseynov Arif Mustafa oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 10 November 1988.

30. *Samoylov Sergey Nikolayevich* and *Pavlovskiy Boris Eduardovich* – each sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 14 September 1988.

Criminal Cases reviewed by Sumqayit City Court

1. *Aliyev Ilham Ispolkom oghlu* – sentenced to 3 years imprisonment on 25 January 1989.

2. *Juvenile Huseynov Shamil Akbar oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years detention on 1 November 1988.

3. *Novruzov Aliabbas Novruz oghlu* – sentenced to 1 year 6 months imprisonment on 16 May 1988.

4. *Mammadov Nazil Jalil oghlu* – sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on 27 January 1989.

5. *Alakbarov Adalat Agharza oghlu* – sentenced to 1 year 6 months imprisonment on 1 April 1988.

6. *Einstein Alexander Vladimirovich* – sentenced to 1 year 6 months imprisonment on 1 April 1988.

7. *Mirzamatova Bika Seyidalievna* and *Huseynova Kistamam Najmudinovna* – each sentenced to 5 years imprisonment on 6 August 1988.

8. *Guliyev Fuzuli Atakishi oghlu* and *Ahmedov Yagub Aghali oghlu* – each sentenced to 5 years imprisonment on 19 October 1988.

9. *Juvenile Aliyev Rafiq Muzaffar oghlu* – sentenced to 2 years imprisonment on 9 September 1988.

10. *Najafov Nadir Khalfa oghlu* – sentenced to 1 year 6 months imprisonment on 1 April 1988.

11. *Mammadov Vagif Zulfugar oghlu* – sentenced to 1 year 6 months imprisonment on 31 March 1988.

12. *Rasulov Rauf Rasul oghlu* – sentenced to 1 year imprisonment on 31 March 1988.

13. *Ibrahimov Maharram Huseyn oghlu* – sentenced to 4 years and 6 months imprisonment on 2 August 1988; *Ahmadova Ayna Aliqulu qizi* – sentenced to 1 year of corrective work with a deduction of 20% of her monthly income.

14. *Karimov Ilqar Meti oghlu* - sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

Further:

Ahmadov Ahmad Iman oghlu was sentenced to death by the USSR Supreme Court on 18 November 1988.

And:

by the Volgograd district court, *Nazarov Lachin Babakhan oghlu, Askerova Sevil Qarakishi qizi, Khidirov Namiq Muhammad oghlu, Mehdiyev Zakir Ali oghlu;*

by the Voronezh district court, *Mehdiyev Alemdar Hasanali oghlu, Rzayev Zakir Ali oghlu;*

by the Samara district court, *Hajiyev Namiq Baloghlan oghlu;*
were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

From the investigation materials, we may say that the crimes have been identified and the criminals punished. The law has taken its course. What else is necessary? Can we close the case?!

No, we cannot! Because there has not been complete clarification of the criminal actions and not all the criminals have been punished. We can confirm one fact: that the USSR Chief Prosecutor's Office investigation concluded that the root cause of the mass disorders lay in international relations. In this case, then, why did the investigating agencies not reveal the reasons behind these criminal acts, who ordered and who organized them?

The direct participants, immature young people, were arrested. We are not going to defend them. What concerns us is why those who provoked the teenagers and students from technical schools are left to one side. It is clear that the USSR State Security Committee and its special service organs in Yerevan had something to do with it. Information about this will follow.

As the lower reaches of the crime are revealed many dark moments will be illuminated.

Next question:

THE DISORDERS: WHY DID THEY HAPPEN?

This question is essentially different from the first two questions. Every citizen who witnessed those events can, in principle, give a more or less objective answer to the first two questions, even if not a complete one. But nobody can give a comprehensive and objective answer to the last question. It is not enough to be simply an eyewitness to have the answer to this question. In this case intensive enquiry and special research and analysis must be carried out to become familiar with both open and confidential material lurking in the hidden depths of the crime, i.e. the iceberg below the waterline.

It is impossible to find an objective answer to this question even by repeated readings of the materials accumulated by the investigation team of the USSR Chief Prosecutor's Office in February 1988, because the employees of the law enforcement agencies conducting that investigation were not intent on finding an answer to this question. It seems that those sitting in the upper echelons had forbidden those of lower rank from collecting comprehensive information on the matter.

The answer to this question, *a priori* (i.e. before the experience - investigation, without waiting for the results of the experience - investigation), as the philosophers say, was prepared even before the investigation began: a group of hooligans attacks peaceful people, enters their apartments, beats, curses, robs, rapes, tortures and kills them.

Apart from a few people among the hooligans, the criminal groups consisted mainly of Azerbaijanis. And the loutish actions targeted people of a single nationality - the Armenians. Despite this it seemed that the investigation agencies did not devote much attention to this fact. Of course it would be naïve at least to suppose that such 'inattentiveness' was a matter of chance. Approached seriously, it is evident that this was deliberate.

We may conclude that in fact the investigation had a single purpose: "to find hooligan elements and punish them". When the matter is assessed objectively it is clear that the investigation was carried out in biased fashion and was perhaps even ordered to be done that way. Because the Nagorno-

Karabakh issue was deadlocked, the back-up plan, Sumqayit, was put into action.

By order of President İlham Aliyev of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the investigation into the mass disorders that happened in Sumqayit from 27-29 February 1988 has been re-opened.

Criminal case materials are being added to the constantly-updated website <http://www.prokurorluq.gov.az> sumqayit-senedler. With presidential political support we hope that the investigation will be completed successfully and that, finally, a correct legal and political assessment will be made of the disgusting events that took place in Sumqayit and that we will be able to be well rid of the moral stain put on our dear city. There need to be greater diplomatic efforts to expose the true face of the Armenian nationalist and the slanders and aspersions that they smeared across the people of Azerbaijan and the offensive and ugly propaganda that there was ‘genocide’ in Sumqayit.

One further question

**ABOUT SUMQAYIT:
IS IT POSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND ANYTHING?**

Dmitry Furman and Ali Abasov in their book *Azerbaijanskaya Revolyusiya* (Azerbaijani Revolution) emphasize particularly the complex causes of the events of February 1988 in Sumqayit, writing: *Sumqayit saw the first events in the chain of terrible incidents in the history of modern Azerbaijan and it is very difficult to understand anything about them. The reason being that politics is usually conducted secretly by hidden forces, hidden agreements and sabotage in societies where informal mafia-type relations and corruption are deeply rooted, and it is mainly explained by hidden forces, hidden agreements and mischief.*

In ancient Rome the investigators preferred the principle: *If there is a crime don't look first for the criminal, but for the one who would benefit from it.* The principle is a true one. Bearing this true thought in mind, we would like to investigate who would benefit from the mass disorders in Sumqayit.

Furman and Abasov continue their theme: *We have to confess that it is unimaginable that the true landscape of the Sumqayit events can ever be explained if we add to that mentioned above that Moscow was trying to cover up what happened in order to preserve calm, exaggerate it to the full by introducing this as a continuation of the Armenian genocide of 1915 and claiming that the Azerbaijanis were trying to blame the Armenians for everything by exaggerating the secret role of the Sumqayit labourer - the criminal Eduard Griqoryan.*

Thus, theoretically, there are two main parties that could have had an interest in instigating mass disorder in Sumqayit. One is Armenia and the other is Azerbaijan.

The Armenian version: the mass disorders in Sumqayit were organized by the Azerbaijanis. The purpose: genocide of Armenians and to scare them into withdrawing from the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

The Azerbaijani version: the mass disorders in Sumqayit were organized by the Armenians and nationalist-separatist powers on the Armenian side, particularly by the intelligence agencies and the Dashnak

Party. The purpose: to present Azerbaijanis to the world as a savage, barbaric, bloodthirsty people far removed from civilised society. They wanted to prove that it was impossible to live with the Azerbaijanis and thus aimed to gain political support in their fight to annexe Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.

Independent thinkers believe that all is not so simple about the Sumqayit diversion. Someone was particularly interested in causing a collision of these two nationalities on ethnic grounds. The world famous writer Eduard Topol gave his opinion on the matter in an interview with Azadliq radio station correspondent Tengiz Qudava, saying: *This is sabotage. I am completely sure of it. I started in biographical journalism in Sumqayit. All sorts of people come here from all ends of the country. I was working on a newspaper; today I was writing about an Armenian and tomorrow about an Azerbaijani... There were five people writing under our editorship, two and a half of them were Jewish, one was an Armenian girl and one was Azerbaijani; we were of the same age and equal in everything. And then when I heard about what happened in Sumqayit - the plunder and massacre, I was horrified: all my friends were in that hell. In those days when I was working in Sumqayit I was interested in mountain tourism and climbing and I remember how on the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union or some other holiday we went hiking to Nagorno-Karabakh. We walked around the whole of Nagorno-Karabakh and I walked the whole of Nagorno-Karabakh, step by step. Every time we would go through a forest and reach the next village, the villagers would see a group of people approaching and without even seeing our faces or knowing who we were, the women of the village would meet us with glasses of wine and bread in their hands and greet us in both Azerbaijani and Armenian languages as soon as we reached the village, no matter whether it was Armenian or Azerbaijani... There was no hostility. I can confirm this because I have drunk wine and eaten bread in both Azerbaijani and Armenian villages: NO, NO HOSTILITY AT ALL...*

Political analyst Kseniya Myalo, a resident writer on the *Nash Sovremennik* magazine, wrote about the Sumqayit events: *Conflicts called international disputes started and spread in the USSR, a quite stable and regulated society and in conditions of very high living standards and, most importantly, when most of the population were highly educated. It*

was necessary to employ powerful means in order to switch from the heavy stasis (calm, quiet) characteristic of the period labelled stagnation to a strong dynamic (fast movement) in the blink of an eye, and such means could be found. First of all, this meant deliberately involving criminals, particularly the most violent of them, to organise criminal acts; their main task was to shed the first blood, especially in ways that would fill most people with horror. This is what happened: in Sumqayit, Fargana, Osh ...

Svante Cornell (USA), associate research professor at John Hopkins University and research director of the Central Asia and Caucasus Institute: *The troops did not interfere in the conflict. They observed these events with indifference from the sidelines. Sometimes they would even put two ethnic groups against each other and incite a feud, (The Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh: Dynamics and Prospects for Solution).*

Aleksey Zverev, Russian political analyst: *the USSR State Security Committee was aware that there were going to be disorders and killing in Sumqayit (article: Contested Borders in the Caucasus).*

Sumqayit and Nagorno-Karabakh were problems that emerged in the USSR within a socio-political environment hailed as ‘reconstruction’. What was happening in the country?

After the events of February 1988 people first started to reproach the nationalist forces, chauvinists and those who wanted to gain power by causing a feud between two nations. Many people responded to the Sumqayit events objectively. Armenians living in Sumqayit gave their opinions in letters to the *Communist Sumqayit* newspaper. We present the letter written by Ashuk-Atayan:

Разум победит!

БЫЛИ И ОСТАНЕМСЯ БРАТЬЯМИ

У киоска стояла очередь — ждали, когда из Баку привезут газеты. Наконец, в двенадцать начали подвозить. Люди разворачивали газеты и читали прямо тут же, у киоска. Мне, увы, не повезло — купить газету не смог. Спросил одного знакомого: «Что нового?» Он ответил: «Как раз то, чего мы ожидали! Возьми почитай, только верни».

Не секрет, что многие годы мы жили, довольствуясь формулой: национальный вопрос у нас, в стране Советов, решен давным-давно, окончательно и бесповоротно. Отсюда парадно-декларативные речи, безудержные здравницы в честь нерушимой дружбы, рапорты о расцвете и «слиянии», конъюнктурные псевдонаучные трактаты хвалебного характера без какого-либо анализа реальных жизненных проблем. В сущности, вся сфера межнациональных отношений была лишена критического анализа. Между тем, вопросами национальной политики, как подчеркивалось на февральском Пленуме ЦК КПСС, надо заниматься постоянно и основательно, причем по всем линиям — и в теории, и на практике. Без этого не достичь подлинной демократизации общественной жизни.

Теперь мы не отвращаемся от проблем националь-

ных отношений, анализируем события, действия, которые провоцируют национальные обиды, вызывают нездоровые эмоции. Обсуждаем, ищем способы и методы управления межнациональными отношениями. Словом, и этой деликатной сферы коснулся процесс демократизации и гласности.

Ни в одном народе нет духовной основы для национализма и шовинизма. А тень взаимного недоверия чаще всего возникает, когда застилается пелена националистического высокомерия, когда деформируются мораль и нравственность, нарушаются нормы и принципы советского образа жизни.

Люди справедливо задают вопросы: как могло случиться, что Кеворков в Нагорном Карабахе пятнадцать лет занимал высокий партийный пост, не оправдывая доверия партии, неправильно проводя национальную политику?!

Многие задают вопросы: когда предстанут перед судом разного рода подстрекатели и провокаторы? О событиях в Сумгаите весь мир знает, преступники арестованы, суд идет, а вот многие провокаторы и подстрекатели на свободе... Например, один из руководителей комитета «Карабах» Айримян. Именно он передавал сведения 24 февраля газете «Вашингтон таймс» о состоявшихся митингах в Ереване, а 26 февраля уже другая американская газета «Чикаго санди таймс» опубликовала подстрекательский материал с подачи того же Айрикяна о событиях в Нагорном Карабахе.

В журнале «Голос Родины» за 4 мая 1988 года была опубликована статья Г. Айрапетяна, который разоблачает Айрикяна, как ярого прово-

катора. Этот триада судимый за преступления провокатор призывает к выходу Армении из состава СССР! А его верный друг Григорянц получал финансовую помощь от зарубежных подрывных центров для организации антисоветских провокаций.

Мне семьдесят лет, я родился в г. Баку в семье нефтяника-участника революции, борьбы за становление Советской власти в Азербайджане. Сам я — участник Великой Отечественной войны, на фронте был контужен. Горжусь тем, что наша многонациональная страна выстояла в схватке с врагом и победила. Все мы, — советские люди — одна большая семья.

Более четверти века поработал я в РСУ-9, восемь лет — в тресте № 1. Среди моих самых близких друзей очень много азербайджанцев. Мы говорим друг другу: «Салам!». Весь мир знает, как в февральские прагматические события, рискуя зачастую собственными жизнями, азербайджанцы защищали братьев-армян.

В газете «Вышка» я прочитал на днях обращение армян-бакинцев к соотечественникам в Нагорном Карабахе, опубликованное под заголовком: «Верим, разум победит!» Так должно быть! Нет силы, которая может разъединить нас.

Надо сделать все для того, чтобы смыть все наносное, что омрачало вековую дружбу азербайджанского и армянского народов! Мы были и останемся интернационалистами, наследниками и продолжателями революционного дела, за которое отдали свои жизни 26 бакинских комиссаров.

А. АШУТ-АТАЯН,
ветеран войны и труда.

Brief translation of the letter into Azerbaijani language:

I wanted to buy and read newspapers from Baku. The front of the newspaper kiosk was crowded. There was no newspaper left for me. I asked "What is going on?" "They are writing the same things."

We were raised in an international spirit during the Soviet period. Later it was made clear that international spirit was a mere formality in the Soviet Union. All ideas and slogans were based on rotten foundations. In fact an international upbringing was supposed to be built on ideas constantly supporting brotherhood and friendship and never betrayal. This is demanded by democracy. But were these ideas obeyed? Of course not! Everything went in the opposite direction in relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia. There are forces that cause feuds on nationalist grounds, that instigate different nationalities living in neighbourhoods to take against each other and raise tensions. Such people can never love their motherland.

It is hard to believe that Gevorgov, who worked as the First Secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Party Committee for 15 years, took this issue seriously. If he had there would not have been meetings in Karabakh.

There were incidents in Sumqayit. It is very strange, but at that time the whole world started to talk about these incidents. This was a pre-planned diversion. There were criminal actions in Sumqayit. The law enforcement agencies are conducting investigations. The trials continue. The criminals have been punished. We need to ask: I wonder why only the actors have been arrested? I wonder why the organisers and those who ordered this are free, with no action taken against them. The press has also taken the same line.

An active member of the 'Karabakh Committee', Ayrikyan, gave information about meetings in Stepanakert in an interview with the Washington Times newspaper on 24 February. A provocative article was published in the Chicago Sunday Times newspaper via Ayrikyan on 26 February.

There were some who took the article seriously. The Armenian academic Ayrapetyan exposed the chauvinist Ayrikyan in the Qolos Rodini newspaper published on 4 May 1988. This nationalist, arrested three times, was delivering fiery speeches in the squares about Armenian secession

from the USSR. He was advocating the banishment of Azerbaijanis from Nagorno-Karabakh.

I am 70 years old. I was born in Baku. I took part in the war. I worked at Trust No 1's repair-construction institute No 9 in Sumqayit. I have never felt under any pressure and nobody has violated my rights. I want people to be reconciled and peace established. All should wish the same.

A. Ashuqyan-Atayan
War and Labour Veteran

THE GROUPING IN THE POLITBURO AND ITS PARTISAN STANCE TOWARDS AZERBAIJAN

Let us look at how social-political processes were developing in the USSR during the Sumqayit events. Mikhail Gorbachev was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in April 1985. A policy of *perestroika* (reconstruction) was announced to the country. We should note that *perestroika* opened the eyes of many nationalities. The injustice of the near and distant past was starkly exposed. Our attitudes towards people we had believed in and worshipped and to the determinist ideas of Marxism-Leninism were radically altered.

The Armenian leaders, Armenian lobby abroad and the Armenian Gregorian church intended to use Gorbachev's *perestroika* as a historical opportunity. With Kremlin support they lodged a territorial claim against Azerbaijan.



G. Shahnazarov



A. Aganbegyan



S. Sitaryan

Forces favouring the Armenians assembled around Gorbachev. His assistant on political issues was Shahnazarov, there was Aganbegyan on matters of economics and Sitaryan on planning. This trio had agreed on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue with the Armenian community living abroad and promised that they would get Gorbachev's support. With the close support of that trio and with Gorbachev's agreement, a few nationalist Armenians were assigned to various posts.

As an example we may cite Karen Brutents, deputy director of the international relations department of the Communist Party's Central Committee, Leon Onikov, an official in the propaganda department, Mikhail Mchedlov, deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute and others. There were many Armenian nationalists in the Ministry of Defence, Chief Prosecutor's Office and State Security Agencies. They bought a number of officials, government officials, political scientists and journalists in order to support the Armenian position on the resolution of problems related to Nagorno-Karabakh in certain areas, both secretly and openly.

In the Soviet era people believed in *perestroika* in its early years. However, when Gorbachev fell under western influence a number of the intelligentsia, academicians and ordinary folk began to doubt him. This caused divisions among those in the upper echelons who saw Gorbachev as unfaithful to Marxist-Leninist ideas. Groupings emerged in the Politburo. The first of these comprised the 'social-democrats'. Gorbachev, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze belonged to this group. The second group contained the '*perestroika* conservatives'. Ligachev, Lukyanov, Ryzhkov and others headed this group. The first group wanted to destroy the Soviet empire and liquidate the communist regime with close support from America, the UK and their intelligence agencies, while the second wanted to protect and develop the USSR. Confrontations between the groups were waged secretly.

Gorbachev's western inclination was noted before he rose to power. He had visited England as a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet in December 1984. He had met Margaret Thatcher, former British Prime Minister in London; thereafter much was done in western countries to assist Gorbachev's rise. Margaret Thatcher said later in an interview: *I have never been mistaken in assessing character. When Gorbachev was at my reception I said to myself: we can do business together.* (Vecherniy Leningrad, 1991)

In 1984 the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party was Konstantin Chernenko. Because he was very sick, conversations about who would take over as General Secretary were conducted secretly in the Kremlin. After his death in 1985, Politburo member Andrei Gromyko, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs for

many years and became Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1985, proposed Gorbachev as candidate and received unanimous agreement.

Later Gorbachev's role as a tool in Western hands became clear, chaos and dissent against regional authorities spread across the country.

During the perestroika years, the Washington Post newspaper wrote: Soviet officials stated in a confidential meeting between the leaders of prominent states last month that the Kremlin's main duty is to inform Western countries that bad days lie ahead for the Soviet Union.

Bad days were indeed awaiting the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev, who was described as ***the dissident sitting at the top of the pyramid of Soviet power*** in Washington's higher circles, believed that the best way out of the existing situation was to effect revolutionary changes in thinking. In order to guard the higher echelons against imperious psychology and habit and the lower strata against excessive submissiveness, Gorbachev called the revolution in thought 'socialist pluralism' and began to put it into practice. *The right to be the last word in truth belongs to nobody. Or: Nobody has the right to consider his opinion the ultimate truth. Or: We are not claiming a monopoly or single authority on truth-related issues. Truth emerges as a result of combined research and mutual effort* etc (M. S. Gorbachev, *Perestroika i novoe mishlenie dla nashey strain i dla vsego mira*. M 1988, page 76, 172).

Gorbachev's theory was not intended in any way to increase the USSR's global stature, rather he created the circumstances for Soviet Union collapse by saying that *nobody has the right to claim and realise the ultimate truth. There is no absolute truth* contradicted the sure principles of the philosophical cognitive theory taught at almost every stage of Soviet education and it created a 'philosophy' that was highly questionable in terms of building rules and norms for life. This philosophy brought a deal of anarchy and chaos to the society.

At the Congress of the USSR People's Soviet a number of deputies and people in high positions and great responsibility joined the great propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union and began giving objective, sometimes not so objective, speeches on the country's negative features. These deputies gradually brought round a number of comrades. Gorbachev would often overlook the illegal activities of these 'democrats', hiding behind 'glasnost' (openness) and 'ideological pluralism'. There was chaos

in the country while Gorbachev conducted meetings, hidden from the people, with the leaders of foreign countries and deciding his next steps according to their recommendations.

THE FINAL RESULT:

After 1985, Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika* created a historical opportunity for the overthrow of a great empire by foreign countries and, especially, their intelligence agencies. The Politburo disintegrated. There was hidden conflict between the conservatives and social-democrats. Under the influence of the West, Gorbachev began to gradually destroy the Soviet Union with the aid of a number of so-called democrats that he had gathered in the name of democracy. As these processes accelerated, nationalist conflicts came furiously to the fore.

The conflicts that occurred in Alma-Ata in 1986, in Sumqayit in 1988, in Tbilisi in 1989 and then in Fargana and Osh, undermined the foundations of a giant country. In advancing territorial claims, Armenia initiated its hostile policy against Azerbaijan following instructions from Moscow. The purpose behind Gorbachev's foreign trips and his meeting with the Armenian lobby in America on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was part of a policy to change the borders.

The leaders of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region organised urgent sessions of the People's Soviets to demand that Nagorno-Karabakh be taken from Azerbaijan and annexed to the Republic of Armenia; they asked the leaders of the USSR to discuss this issue at the USSR Supreme Soviet. In February 1988 the resolution on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region passed by the People's Soviet was considered anti-constitutional by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan and voted down.

Armenian separatists and their patrons abroad began to exert all kinds of pressure on Azerbaijan. They would appeal to Gorbachev, attend his receptions and use the Armenian Gregorian church too in this disgusting and ugly work. This was the visible part of the iceberg. Submerged were the intelligence agencies of America, the UK and the USSR, Armenia's intelligence agency and the nationalist Dashnak Party. Their clandestine

activity stoked the national feud between the two peoples and persuaded a number of corrupt intelligentsia in Moscow to issue propaganda against Azerbaijan.

It would be useful to understand the socio-political processes going on in the USSR, Gorbachev's western inclinations, the role of foreign intelligence agencies, the diversions initiated by the State Security Committee in different republics, their support for the Armenians on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, the organisation of meetings and strikes in national republics and the thoughts of politicians, ideologists and journalists.

Yegor Ligachev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union Communist Party, member of the Politburo

*He wrote in the book *Zaqadka Gorbacheva: an article published in an American newspaper in January 1990 asked whether Gorbachev needs help. Is such help really necessary if it is to be used to strengthen the communist regime and Soviet economy? This help will only be given if the resources allocated serve to bring about the fall of the Communist Party. Gorbachev chose this second way from the first days of his policy of perestroika and began gradually to achieve it.**

Viktor Ilyukhin, former deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation

Gorbachev's indecision and political ignorance isolated the countries from each other. And Nagorno-Karabakh was a cause of the fall of the Soviet Union. This conflict, whose script was written abroad and implemented in the regions by the actors, began gradually, but systematically, to destroy the USSR. And instead of turning off the national conflict, Gorbachev stirred it up even more. If he had taken firm and decisive measures from the very beginning and stated his determination to support territorial integrity, there would have been no breakdown and the Sumqayit events would never have happened. –Ligachev also said this to Gorbachev after returning from Baku. But no importance was attached to it.

Svetlana Lurye, a scholar at Yerevan State University

We were confident that these struggles in the fight for Karabakh were carried out with permission from Moscow.

(article: *The Image of Russia and Russians in the Mass Consciousness of Armenians*)

Leonid Borisov, Russian political scientist, in his book *Predatelstvo. Kak rushilas velikaya imperiya*

*A tragedy occurred in 1988. The Russian intelligentsia betrayed one nationality and without looking back started to defend the other. Azerbaijani scientists, writers and directors were working and participating in gatherings together. All of a sudden they became enemies, the Azerbaijanis were called 'bad' and the Armenians 'good'. The 'bad' were shot at from all directions. They started to call the Armenians 'cultured people' and Azerbaijanis 'barbarians'. This was true betrayal. They described the Azerbaijanis as the followers of communism and Armenians as democrats for freedom and independence. The Azerbaijanis were passive and the Armenians were progressive. The Azerbaijanis were savage and the Armenians were fighters for the fate of their people. Everything was happening just as the leadership wanted. **AND NOBODY WAS THINKING ABOUT THE AZERBAIJANIS.***

Sergei Grigoryants, a dissident who lives in Paris

The history of the USSR is completely bloody. The criminals and organizers are clear to everybody. But who is guilty? Of course, Gorbachev!
(newspaper: *Russkaya misl*, article: *A Tragedy in the Caucasus*)

Gevorq Emin, Armenian poet

It is not very important for the Russian people to know the history of Armenia. Russia is supposed to pay attention to its own history and then it will be forced to defend Armenia. The politics of these two states have always coincided. But many things depend on the position of Russia in the Karabakh problem.

(article: *My Mission in Armenia*)

N. Boroyan, Armenian historian

In 1918-1920 the Dashnak government was pursuing its goal of banishing the Muslims from their lands and invading those lands instead of improving the wellbeing of the Armenian people.

The intelligence agencies, Armenian lobby and extremists from a number of foreign countries were offering all kinds of help and support to Gorbachev. The country was gradually collapsing. In an interview for the documentary *Echo of Sumqayit* the USSR Minister of Defence Dmitry Yazov stated that *in 1986 the economy of the USSR was growing, in 1987 this growth stopped and in 1988 it started to decline*. Even though the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolai Ryzhkov noted this several times in the Politburo, Gorbachev would avoid this important point saying that *important processes are going on in the country*. And foreign countries began to use this, because Gorbachev had become a toy in their hands.

In *Pamyatnoe*, his memoir, Gromyko stated his regret about proposing Gorbachev's candidacy and even used the expression: *I wish I had taken the initiative for myself*. It was already too late. Gorbachev was sold to the foreigners.

The writer Boris Oleynik, in his book *Knyaz tmi*:

Everything was clear to me after watching a video cassette with Landsberg. We (Gorbachev is meant - author) were in Minsk on 13-14 January. There were disorders in Vilnius and blood was shed. There were people who were aware of this. This is why they had demanded that Gorbachev stay in Minsk, otherwise those events might never have happened. Now it is clear to me that the disorders that happened in Karabakh, Sumqayit, Baku, Fargana, Tiraspol and Tbilisi happened with Gorbachev's permission. I didn't want to believe it, but all the scripts are the same. The troops being late, the involvement of radical forces in the disorders etc.

He would support the so-called democrats around him and demonstrated any material or moral support possible for them. Forces that

wanted to benefit from *perestroika* started to create nationalist movements and popular fronts in national republics. Ideological freedom developed in the country, the economy started to gradually decline, the roots of culture were shaken and whoredom and narcomania spread everywhere.

Instead of speaking for the people, Burlatski, Sobchak, Afanasyev, Papov, Sakharov, Staravoytova, Borovik, Stankevich, Igidyan, Nuykin and many others, who considered themselves patriots and democrats in the congress of the USSR People's Soviet, they stirred the national feuds.

**THE SCRIPT FOR THE SUMQAYIT EVENTS WAS
REPEATED IN OTHER REPUBLICS. THEY WERE ALL
CONTROLLED BY THE CENTRE**

The international politics of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was being defined. The first incidents took place in Alma-Ata in 1986. From analysis and investigation materials we understand that arms were distributed to workers by state security agencies before the incident in Kazakhstan's capital. This provoked confrontation and exacerbated the situation in the country.

In 1986 Academician Dinmukhamed Kunayev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party and member of its Politburo, was dismissed from his post. Gennady Kolbin, an ethnic Russian, was appointed to replace him. This change brought a huge reaction in Alma-Ata. Young people went onto the streets. They protested against the Central Committee's decision. Force was used against the students and the first blood was shed in Alma-Ata on 18 December to break up the gatherings. This was the first step to create international concern about *perestroika*. Almost half the population of Kazakhstan were Russians. Confrontation between the two nationalities was the main, but just one, secret plan in Gorbachev's policy.

Our national leader said in an interview to the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* newspaper on 17 April 1992 that Mikhail Gorbachev was the main instigator behind the incidents in Alma-Ata: *the term Kazakh nationalism was first used by Gorbachev*.

Yes, by orchestrating the Alma-Ata incidents, Moscow instigated the start and spread of inter-ethnic conflicts within the Soviet Union. It would be useful to note one more comment. In 1989 Nursultan Nazarbayev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party wrote in his book *Bez pravikh i levik* (1991), published in Moscow a few years after the incidents: *Nobody from the leadership wanted to meet the people and speak to them openly. More precisely, nobody was capable of it, because everybody was used to communicating to pre-organised groups of people and reading prepared texts from a podium. At that time they even turned to Kunayev for help but without positive result. His conversation with*

Kolbin resulted in a search for the incident's organisers among members of the Central Committee's Politburo- Nazarbayev, Kamaldinov and Mukashev. Enraged by their inability to establish stability they would sometimes tell us directly that we were the ones behind the disorder. This meant that we were responsible for restoring order too. Only later did it become clear that many internal troops had been sent to Alma-Ata at that time.

As you can see, the Kremlin had advance notice of the Alma-Ata incidents, but not everything went according to script. The Centre, Moscow and the state intelligence agencies, together with their foreign comrades, worked on other plans. Thus incidents occurred in Sumqayit in 1988, in Tbilisi, Fargana and Osh in 1989, in Baku in 1990 and in Vilnius in 1991. They happened at great human cost.

It is important to reflect on one point in analysing these incidents. It was clear that the pattern of conflicts between national groupings that took place in different countries at different times originated from one centre.

Before the Sumqayit incident, wealthy Armenians had withdrawn their money from savings banks and left the city. There are many explanations from witnesses about the conduct of the disorders. Besides employees of the USSR State Security Committee and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, there were Armenian government forces and the “KrunK” society among the witnesses. But let's not hurry now, and refer to the facts.

The famous journalist Yevgenia Albats is very well known for her series of articles about the secret plans and diversions realised by the USSR State Security Agencies. She writes in her book *Mina zamedlennego deystvia*, published in Moscow in 1992: *On the eve of 9 April in Georgia the military regiment of the State Security Committee was prepared in Tbilisi. They started to film people and take their photos when KGB operatives started clear people from the square with tanks and field-engineer metal shovels.*

The KGB style was practised in Uzbekistan. Intelligence agencies participated in the incidents that took place in the city of Fargana. Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev wrote in his book *Sumerki: in a few conflicts and alarming events, the shooting of workers in Novocherkassk and shedding blood in Alma-Ata, Sumqayit and Fargana followed the USSR State Security Committee's script.*

The newspaper *Farganskaya Pravda* wrote (June 1989): *It seemed there was no warning of the approaching storm. It had been quiet in Tashlak since morning. But at around 10 o'clock a very aggressive crowd gathered in front of the Aurora cinema. District committee officials arrived to calm them. But this did not help. It is very surprising that there were no locals, i.e. residents of Tashlak, among the hostile crowd. It was they, those hostile people who were calling for violence against Meskheti Turks and they soon headed to International Street and began destroying everything they came across. People were being killed and houses set on fire.*

* * *

Alma-Ata,
people protesting
(December 1986)



Alma-Ata



Alma-Ata



Armenians
gathering in the Samad
Vurghun Culture Palace
(Sumqayit, February
1988)



Incidents in Uzbekistan
ended in tragedy.
The military were on
stand-by, as usual.
(Fargana, Tashlak,
June 1989)



Fargana, Tashlak



Fargana, Tashlak



Disorders in Vilnius
and military
intervention
**(Vilnius, January
1991)**



Vilnius



Vilnius



Disorder in Tbilisi as published in the press
(Tbilisi, April 1989)

Note the analogy: diversions similar to the Sumqayit script happened in Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, Fargana, Osh and Uzen. Relations between national/ethnic groups became more strained in the regions. People unfamiliar to the locals appeared in Tashlak and began to rouse others into mass action. Letters were sent to the Central Committee in Moscow about the start of these actions, but all appeals went unheeded. 13% of the Tajiks who lived in Uzen had already left the city to ensure safety for themselves and their families.

Strangers were also wandering around in Uzen, creating conflict and starting fights. The strange thing was that even the *akhund* of the city mosque had left the city with his family. Then blood was shed in ethnic conflicts in Fargana, Osh and Uzen in the summer of 1989. Troops were sent to the city and a curfew was applied to halt the disorders. Weren't these events a continuation of what happened in Sumqayit? They were. Questions arise: wasn't Gorbachev aware of these incidents? Weren't there enough troops to prevent these incidents? There were!

Even though investigations were opened in Sumqayit and Fargana, Osh and Uzen, only groups of hooligans were arrested and jailed by the courts for various terms. Unfortunately only the **implementers** were arrested and punished. **Just as in Sumqayit, the organisers and those who ordered the incidents disappeared into the shadows in Fargana, Osh and Uzen too.** These incidents were a campaign of sabotage on ethnic grounds conducted by Gorbachev and the national intelligence agencies.

Our words can be unambiguously confirmed by those of Nikolai Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers at the time and member of the Politburo:

N. Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers
(1985-1990. From the book *Istoki razrushenia*)

Gorbachev was always on foreign trips during serious ethnic incidents in the country. Forces that benefitted from them blamed the conservative groups in the Politburo for these incidents. Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Shevardnadze and Medvedev would always stay on the sidelines. Gorbachev took them with him on his trips. Many people were naïve and believed this. Do you think incidents of this scale can be prepared and

carried out in one day? This was too short a time for incidents with such roots, essence and results. Even though the general secretary was in different parts of the world, he was aware of everything.

Turkestan newspaper, January-February 1990

(I. Korolyov. Fargana: incidents and facts)

It all started from Kuvasay... a conflict started between Uzbeks and Meskheti Turks over something very minor.... Rumours had spread everywhere. It was said that women and children had been killed and houses burnt in Kuvasay.... But this is not how things went. A group of extremists opened fire with a variety of weapons and sawn-off shotguns in Tashlak. They started to throw explosives and bottles filled with fuel at the houses of Meskheti Turks. This went on for four hours. Tyranny and random violence spread everywhere. And this had very serious results. 43 houses were burnt down, 170 houses and apartments were robbed, 10 cars and 12 motorcycles were set on fire. Murder and violence were spread.

According to information from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' press centre, 99 people were killed in the incidents. 20 were Uzbeks, 69 were Meskheti Turks and 10 were of other nationalities.

A. Shustov, writer

Relations between different ethnic groups were stirred up in Central Asia. There were forces that had an interest in this. They were burning the houses of Turks. The republic's authorities and power structures were helpless. The internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs were a few hours too late to prevent the incidents.

“We need land, said Kirokasyan, former first deputy director of the Armenian Council of Ministers, because Armenians are leaving Armenia, as there is no land for them”.

(Filipp Bobkov, former first deputy chairman of the USSR State Security Committee)

In October 1987 the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held and Heydar Aliyev was relieved of his post.

Heydar Aliyev was regarded as a skilful and experienced figure in the Politburo and his release from the posts that he held improved the Armenians' chances of succeeding in their territorial claims. They applauded the elimination of their main obstacle and began to openly state their aims to Gorbachev. The Nagorno-Karabakh operation was activated a month after the plenum.

In November 1987 Gorbachev's assistant on economic issues, academician Abel Aganbegyan flew to France. He gave a speech to the Armenian elite in Paris, stating that Nagorno-Karabakh must be taken from Azerbaijan and given to Armenia, saying that this theme would be discussed in the Politburo.

INSERTION:

In an interview with Sumqayit journalists during the filming of the documentary “Echo of Sumqayit”, Alexander Yakovlev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, considered to be the principal architect of *perestroika*, said that Aganbegyan had not gone to Paris on his own initiative. He was with Gorbachev, had consulted him, introduced him to the idea and then flown to Paris.

Academician Aganbegyan's statement was the lead story in the Armenian mass media in many countries –the Ayb radio station, the Armenian editorial on Azadliq radio, The Voice of America, the New York Times, France-Presse etc.

Immediately there was a great revival of the work of the political organizations operating abroad: the Revolutionary Dashnaks, the Armenian Revolutionary Union, Freedom for Peasants, Eastern Armenians of the United States, Kilikiya, Jirair, the Defence of Armenia, Young Armenian Dashnaks etc. Following Aganbegyan's statement, the Armenian community in America began working through diplomatic channels for a visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to America and we can say that this visit was soon agreed.

Gorbachev visited America in December 1987. He met the Armenian elite in the state of California and spoke about the flow of socio-political processes in the country, *glasnost* and democracy.

The Armenian lobby's meeting with the leader of the Soviet Union was no chance occurrence. They were working on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and planning to profit from the policy of *perestroika* announced in the Soviet Union. The Armenian nationalists discussed the Nagorno-Karabakh problem with Gorbachev, hoping to prove that the lands belonged historically to Armenia. In his turn Gorbachev said that he would be objective about the problem and would try to justify the Armenians' hopes. The Armenians, satisfied with this, gave Gorbachev and his wife Raisa Maksimovna a painting "*Karta Vselennoy*" by the American artist Inok Klouso, "*Peterburg. Vid na Strelki Vasilyevskogo Ostrova*" by Ivan Aivazovsky and books of manuscripts of the 12th century Orthodox Church were given to them by the Shaginyan family. Raisa Maksimovna was also given a precious bracelet adorned with diamonds. Upon their arrival in Moscow, Gorbachev and his wife donated the works of art and the manuscripts to state museums. But Raisa kept the diamond bracelet as a memory from the American-Armenian community.

At the end of 1987 the Armenians, who were relying on Gorbachev, raised the issue of taking Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and giving it to Armenia with the Armenian Supreme Soviet and in sessions of the People's Soviets in regions including Nagorno-Karabakh. The following item was on the agenda: *Taking Nagorno-Karabakh from the territories*

of Azerbaijan and annexing it to Armenia. The decision was sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the republic's Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There was a sharp reaction against the decision in Azerbaijan. But Moscow took no action against the Armenians' illegal action; on the contrary, it followed the course of events. It is also relevant to mention that if this issue had been raised in the 1960s or 1970s the USSR Supreme Soviet would have annulled the decisions of the People's Soviets of those regions and provinces and the organisers would have been punished. But this did not happen. Times had changed. Gorbachev dared not take such a firm step, because he was already in the pockets of the Western and Armenian lobbies.

Moscow was waiting for Azerbaijan's reaction. But a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Republic rejected the territorial claim, considered the decision made by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region groundless and annulled it.

Let us also note that in the 20th century Armenian nationalists had raised questions concerning Nagorno-Karabakh several times. During Stalin's rule the protectors and political organisers of the issue were the Central Committee Politburo members Anastas Mikoyan and Lavrentiy Beria.

A section of the book *Mir Jafar Baghirov in Our Memories* (Baku. Nurlan Publishing, page 308) is relevant here. *In 1945 the leader of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party Grigoriy Arutyunov had sent an official letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to raise the question of taking the Nagorno-Karabakh Region from the territory of Azerbaijan and annexing it to the territory of Armenia.* It is important to point out that this was a step that Arutyunov would never dare make. He could only raise such a proposal by relying on protectors at the centre. The Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan at that time Hasan Seyidov recalled that *members of the Politburo L. Beriya and A. Mikoyan had congratulated M. J. Baghirov in Moscow supposedly for solving the problem of creating a great Azerbaijan Republic by uniting it with Southern Azerbaijan in 1945.* They had stated their faith in Baghirov's generosity and that he would not refuse to give Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia and

the Zaqatala-Balakan region to Georgia. Baghirov had answered that *it was not the time to think about this* (page 308) and appealed to the Soviet Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party in an open letter to prove with facts that Nagorno-Karabakh had historically been the territory of Azerbaijan and that Nagorno-Karabakh had never had any borders with Armenia.

A few historical facts should be brought to readers' attention. The *Jumhuriyyat* newspaper published in Turkey wrote in 1967: *Molotov, Soviet Union Minister of Foreign Affairs gave a note to Turkey on 7 June 1945. This note demanded the return of the eastern districts of the Caucasus, Kars and Erdahan and made a number of claims about restoring Russian superiority in the straits. The intoxication of victory in bloody Russian imperialism struck the granite rocks of Turkish faith and courage on this issue too. Even though they defeated Germany, the Anglo-Saxons who lost out to Stalin's politics did not support Turkey in those times. The conversation below between the Turkish Foreign Minister Nurulla Sumer and the Soviet ambassador Vinogradov that took place at that time is very interesting:*

Nurulla Sumer: - Does Russia that owns a great chunk of the planet still need more territories?

Vinogradov: - It is not Russia that needs lands but the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Another example. The book *The SSC and Government* by Filipp Bobkov, former first deputy chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, was published in Moscow (Moscow, EKSMO publishing house, 2003, page 14). The author writes in the book: *After those horrible nights in Sumqayit I had a conversation with an Armenian lady who was a worker in a construction factory. Her daughter-in-law had had a terrible day and her son had been wounded.*

- *Do you really think that the intelligentsia in Yerevan thinks about us?* – The lady stated. *No! They only think about land. They need Nagorno-Karabakh for this reason too.*

Another example from the same book. *After a few months I met Kirokasyan, the former first deputy chairman of the Republic of Armenia Council of Ministers. He had retired. Over a very long time he explained why they needed Nagorno-Karabakh.*

- *We need land. – He said.*
- *Why? – I asked in surprise.*
- *Because Armenians are leaving Armenia as there is no place for them.*
- *Where to?*
- *To Stavropol region, Siberia or Central Russia.*
- *What is wrong with that?*
- *Of course it is wrong. The nation is being destroyed. We definitely need more land in order to prevent them from moving to different regions of Russia.*

INSERTION:

After the August 1991 putsch, Gorbachev returned to Moscow from Foros and betrayed his brothers in arms first of all. He rejected the Party. At those times his future destiny was unknown. Boris Yeltsin was euphoric. What happened in Foros and Moscow had confused people. A giant state was about to fall.

Revealing the secrets of the Party and in which foreign banks resources and gold were kept was of interest to many people. It would be naïve to think that Central Committee Business Director Kruchina's mysterious death by a fall from a window was suicide and that he was the only one who knew in which country and which bank the Party's gold and money were kept. Marshal Akhromeyev was found dead in his office. Nobody believed that his death was suicide. How could a resolute man of such strong will commit suicide? He knew many secrets. If they were revealed there would be chaos in the country, many men

in good positions would be unmasked and it would cause great dissatisfaction among the people, lead to disorder and bloodshed.

The suicide of the USSR Ministry of Interior Affairs Boris Puqo was also very suspicious to many people. Neither the party in power nor the opposition was interested in these suicides. Everybody was interested in who would come to power. Rank, post, deputy status and privileges were awaiting somebody. After they came to power they promised to announce a new course and that the crimes of Akhromeyev, Kruchina and Puqo, who had a unique place in the history of the USSR, would be revealed.

Power is sweet. Those who were swimming in sweet power soon forgot about the brothers in arms they had been close to, they sat with in praesidiums and toasted at parties.

In the mass media it was said that all three murders had been the plan of foreign intelligence agencies and the USSR State Security Committee.

According to some information when Puqo's study was being inspected, several folders were found in his safe. It was said that *Uzbekistan Meskheti Turks* was on one of them and *Nagorno-Karabakh* on the other. Everybody remembers the terrors that were committed against Meskheti Turks. Information about the nationalist activities of the Krunk society that was operating in Stepanakert, the lands being taken from Azerbaijan and given to Armenia, diversionary plans, their cooperation with terrorist organizations, the separatists' negotiations held with Armenian nationalists in Baku, Sumqayit and others were collected in the *Nagorno-Karabakh* folder. This means that Moscow and the leaders of the country and law enforcement agencies were aware of the Sumqayit events in advance, but no definite measures were taken.

The Armenian lobby relied on their patrons in Moscow and in some cases were even financially supported by

the above-mentioned leaders, state officials and law enforcement agencies on the Karabakh problem.

It was not by chance that a group of ethnic Armenian officials working in different Russian cities in crime investigation departments of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs was sent to work in Sumqayit during the Sumqayit events.

Armenians who participated in the disorders were interrogated by Armenian investigators and they were told to leave Sumqayit urgently. The Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan had sufficient information about this.

**“ON ANNEXING NAKHCHIVAN, KIROVABAD (GANJA),
SHAUMYAN, KHANLAR, SHAMKIR, DASHKESEN AND
NAGORNO-KARABAKH TO THE ARMENIAN SSR”**

“Krunk” Society

Omar Faiq Nemanzade wrote in the newspaper *Irshad* in 1906: *No matter what, the Armenians will realize their plan to create Armenia and in order to achieve this they will attempt to make us leave Yerevan, Karabakh and Kars. We should know and never forget that Armenians are capable of all possible baseness. By sabotage they will force the Muslims to rise against them, deliberately allow major losses and then they will start to whine and present themselves to the whole of Europe as a poor, unfortunate and tortured nation. They will gradually draw up plans for their crimes and work out how to achieve them.*

These words of the great Azerbaijani public figure of the early 20th century remain relevant. The Armenians, who created the state of Armenia for themselves upon Azerbaijani lands, have never ceased fighting for Nagorno-Karabakh and expecting all kinds of support from the Russians. The work of the “Krunk” society, formed in Khankendi in this campaign, is very clear.

The disgusting anti-Azerbaijan policy of the leaders of Armenia and the Dashnak Party coincides with that of the “Krunk” society noted

for its extreme nationalism in Nagorno-Karabakh. This society adopts an uncompromising stance against Azerbaijan and it has become an organization based on the ideology of fascism, getting its arms and financial support from abroad. They demanded that Armenia's leaders, intelligence agencies, extremist groups and diplomats resolve the problem of annexing Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia according to international norms. The "Krunk" society's disgusting and cunning policy was evident everywhere.

The Armenian nationalists and their overseas patrons, who felt that the Nagorno-Karabakh issue had stalled at the end of 1980, called on people to protest. Meetings were held in Stepanakert. "Krunk" was very active in this process.

On 12 February 1988, "Krunk" included 47 communists, 4 district party committee members, 22 deputies, leaders of establishments and organizations and mass media specialists. They formed a council of 11 people. The head of the society was Arkadiy Manucharov, the well-known mafia leader and director of a construction materials factory. His was a bad influence not only in Nagorno-Karabakh, but far beyond its borders. He had connections with many prestigious mafia organisations in Russia. He was active in selecting and placing cadres in the regions.

He was asked the following in a conversation with a correspondent from the "Trud" newspaper: *Have we got the permission of the district party committee first secretary to establish "Krunk"? Manucharov answered: Who is Gevorkov? I was the one to put him in his position. He knows that very well.*

It would be opportune to say a few words about Gevorkov too. After holding an important position on the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party for a while, he was elected first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region Party Committee in the early 1970s. People working with him and the locals thought Gevorkov was an arrogant, selfish, egocentric person who liked organising fancy parties, who spent most of his time at leisure with people close to him and often went hunting. Gevorkov was far from being a party worker. His inexperience and lack of organisational skills were revealed in 1988. In the region he was known as a party functionary. No serious reforms were carried out in Nagorno-Karabakh during Gevorkov's rule, because his management and organisational skills were so weak. He was imperious and dictatorial.

Gevorkov was a tool in the hands of a group of mafiosi that controlled different sectors for long periods and were involved in the secret economy. As Party leader he ensured that the people in this group enjoyed every facility in the region and any problems they had would be solved immediately. When the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was raised his lack of managerial professionalism and the lack of respect he was accorded by people were disclosed. All decisions made by the Regional Party Committee were met with silence. Everyone's attention was fixed on "KrunK" and its leader Manucharov. This so-called people's hero made a lot of promises about taking Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and giving it to Armenia. In early 1990, Manucharov was arrested.

In an interview with TASS Agency correspondents V. Ternavsky and Kanashenko, USSR Deputy Chief Prosecutor A. F. Katusev (Communist newspaper, 1 December 1988) said:

Manucharov was not arrested for being the leader of the "KrunK" society. There were other reasons. The investigation determined that he was the leader of an organized group that was stealing the wealth of the people and had stolen a significant amount of the state's money. Manucharov's partners V. Z. Arakelyan, S. I. Vanesyan, A. D. Nersesyan, A. A. Barseqyan, Q. V. Mesropyan, A. K. Kasyan, S. R. Atoyan, A. M. Abramyan, A. Y. Babayan and R. S. Serkisyan were also arrested with him.

The Manucharovs were not very interested in Nagorno-Karabakh. They were trying to hide their criminal activity by leading "KrunK". Despite this Arkadiy Manucharov was presented as a national hero and a special committee was formed in Nagorno-Karabakh to free him. He had supporters in Moscow as well as in Karabakh. They were highly energetic and tried various ways to release him from prison. They organised meetings and protests and called strikes. Academicians Sakharov and Staravoytova, thought to be the Armenians' main 'ideologists', played significant roles. Questions were raised at high levels in Moscow and in different international organizations, protesting that Manucharov had been arrested for no reason. With the help of the Armenian lobby they visited him in prison and promised him that they would influence public opinion for his release. And that is what happened. The Azadliq and Voice of America radio stations were strident, stating their concern about the rude violation

of human rights in the Soviet land and citing Manucharov as an example. The democrats got what they wanted. Manucharov was released from prison. A number of forces were interested in his release. Manucharov was supposed to intensify his role in the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict even further. He was supposed to use his contacts in Russia and play the leading role in implementing the disgusting projects against Azerbaijan.

“KrunK” members were periodically receiving instructions from the centre and secretly conducting their chauvinist propaganda against Azerbaijan. An interesting fact is that before the mass disorders in Sumqayit in January and February 1988, hundreds of ethnic Armenian depositors withdrew 1,226,000 manats from the city’s 14 saving banks.

As can be seen from the primary documents concerning the withdrawal of deposits presented by “Kapitalbank” Sumqayit branch no 2, during this period 18 people took more than 1,000 rubles, 7 people more than 2,000 rubles, 8 people more than 3,000 rubles, 4 people more than 4,000 rubles and 3 people more than 5,000 rubles.

Examples: N. Aghajanyan – 16,765 r., S. Gevorkyan – 11,244 r., K. Martirosyan – 8,730 r., Z. Melkumyan – 13,580 r., R. Mikaelyan – 7,610 r., V. Avanesova – 13,760 r., A. Poqosyan – 9,360 r., S. Karielova – 16,697 r., Q. Qakhshiryan – 8,795 r., R. Sarkisyan – 7,752 r., S. Aganbegyan – 6,754 r., Q. Akopov – 6,519 r., A. Sarkisyan – 8,880, D. Davidyants – 8,202 r., V. Sarkisyan – 5,377 r., L. Babayan – 17,890 r., A. Ambartsumyan – 12,760 r., R. Tomosyan – 8,670 r., Y. Khachaturyan – 8,877, E. Baqdasaryan – 9,228 r., K. Khankoryan – 6,574 r., M. Azaryan – 8,570 r.

Let us consider the witness statements of several workers in different branches of Sumqayit’s saving banks in 1988.

**THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR'S
OFFICE OF AZERBAIJAN****4 May 2010 Case No 60206****Baku City****Witness interview****PROTOCOL**

Interview started: 11:15

Interview ended: 12:24

Aziza Tanriverdiqizi Khalilova, a citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan, born on 11 November 1946 in Aghdam, Azerbaijani, with a higher education, resident in Sumqayit, was questioned as a witness under articles 227-230 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan by **Elmar Alikram oghlu Mammadov**, an investigator of issues of special importance and legal counsel in the serious crimes investigation department of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Before the interrogation, the witness was informed about the matter concerning which she had been called and was warned about her duty to tell all that she knew about the matter. It was explained to the witness that according to article 26 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan she had the right to use her mother tongue, to use the services of translators without charge during the initial investigation and court review and to speak in her mother tongue during the court process. The witness stated that she knew the Azerbaijani language and did not need a translator.

Witness



In answer to the questions that I have been asked I would like to state that since 1998 I have been living in Sumqayit, Block 29, Building 20/54, Apartment 2. Before that I was living at a different address. I have worked as a cashier and supervisor in savings bank 181 for many years. The savings bank I worked at was located in 12th District, building 1, Sumqayit. During the years that I have worked in the savings bank I have been acquainted with the depositors who lived in adjacent districts, including ethnic Armenians.

Although I am not engaged in politics I knew from conversations, television, newspapers and other sources that at the end of 1987 Armenians were organizing meetings in Stepanakert and wanted to take Nagorno-Karabakh from the Republic of Azerbaijan and annex it to the Republic of Armenia. During the last months of 1987 and January and February 1988, Armenians started to withdraw their money from savings banks.

According to the Withdrawal Orders no. 01342 of 26 January 1988, no. 086 of 13 February 1988, no. 9234 of 26 January 1988, no. 10224 of 9 February 1988, no. 11227 of 27 February 1988 and no. 10751 of 2 February 1988 that I was presented with, I issued 3,133 rubles in cash to Edik Shirinovich Shirinyan, 5,119 rubles to Larisa Surenovna Sayan, 1,989 rubles to Spartak Shagenovich Ananesyan, 1,165 rubles to Nina Sarkisovna Qasparyan, 2,164 rubles to Arakel Sumbatovich Khachikyan and 3,872 rubles to Martik Sedrakovich Asryan from the savings bank. The second signature on the Withdrawal Order is mine and the others belong to the supervisor Hanifa Suleiman qizi Suleimanova and the customer.

I knew the depositor Larisa Sayan personally. I asked her the reason why she was withdrawing 5,119 rubles from the savings bank. She said she had been threatened by members of the “Krunk” society in Nagorno-Karabakh. She had to pay them a certain amount of money. They were planning to cause unrest in Sumqayit. If she didn't pay them, they would give her home address to the Armenian nationalists in Sumqayit and they would attack her house and torture her. At that time I did not attach any importance to her words. I withdrew the money and gave it to her as usual. I never saw Larisa Sayan after that and have never had any contact with her.

Witness



Khalilova A. T.

**ГЕНЕРАЛЬНАЯ ПРОКУРАТУРА
АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ**

Номер регистрации

Дата: 26.05.2010

город Баку

ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПРОСА СВИДЕТЕЛЯ

«26» мая 2010 г. Следователь по особо важным делам следственного управления по тяжким преступлениям Генеральной Прокуратуры Азербайджанской Республики советник юстиции Мамедов Эльмар Аликрам оглы в служебном кабинете с соблюдением требований ст. 95, 227, 230 УПК Азербайджанской Республики допросил в качестве свидетеля **Сорокину Марину Николаевну**

Допрос начат: 11.00

Окончен: 14.00.

АНКЕТНЫЕ ДАННЫЕ СВИДЕТЕЛЯ

Фамилия, имя, отчество - Сорокина Марина Николаевна

Год рождения – 16. 07. 1964 года. Место рождения - Сумгаит

Гражданство - гражданка Азербайджанской Республики

Образование - среднее

Место работы и должность - оператор 11-го почтового отделения

Место жительства - город Сумгаит.

Документ, удостоверяющий личность - личность установлена

Свидетель



Сорокина М.Н.

Свидетелю разъяснено, что в соответствии со ст. 26 УПК Азербайджанской Республики она вправе давать показания на родном языке, в ходе предварительного следствия и судебного разбирательства, пользоваться услугами переводчика бесплатно, выступать в суде на родном языке.

Свидетель М.Сорокина заявила, что желает давать показания на русском языке, так как азербайджанским языком владеет не достаточно хорошо.

Подпись



По существу заданных мне вопросов могу показать следующее: в настоящее время проживаю по адресу город Сумгаит, 1-ый микрорайон, дом 36/126 квартира 10 вместе с членами своей семьи. Муж Сорокин Владимир Давыдович, 1953-го года рождения, уроженец города Сумгаита, в настоящее время не работает. Длительное время, примерно до 2000 года работал в должности начальника планового отдела СТТК (грузовой гараж). Старший Сорокин Давид Владимирович 1986 года рождения, в настоящее время заканчивает обучение в Азербайджанском экономическом университете. Второй сын Сорокин Вадим Владимирович, 1991 года рождения, в этом году закончил Бакинский компьютерный колледж. Третий сын Сорокин Роман 1994 года рождения, учится в 11 классе средней школы №15. Из близких родственников, проживающих в Сумгаите я могу назвать только брата своего мужа Нисанова Михаила, который до недавнего времени работал электриком на заводе. Я проживаю в Сумгаите со дня своего рождения, моя мама Антипова Валентина Ивановна родилась в поселке Пришиб Джалилабадского района, а папа Богданов Федор Тимофеевич был родом из Шемахинского района.

Примерно в 1984 году я училась на втором курсе Азербайджанского нефтяного института. Была принята на работу телеграфистом на почтамт города Сумгаита. Примерно через год была переведена на ту же должность в 11-ое почтовое отделение.. 11-ое почтовое отделение находится по настоящее время по адресу город Сумгаит, 12 микрорайон дом 1 и расположено на первом этаже жилого пятиэтажного дома. С другой стороны этого же здания ранее располагалась сберегательная касса, а после ликвидации сберкасс, на этом же месте открылся филиал «Капиталбанка».

Всего в период 80-х годов в почтовом отделении на различных участках работало примерно 30 человек. Хочу отметить, что вместе с почтальонами, прикрепленными к нашему почтовому отделению, число работников было намного больше, около 50 человек, но так как почтальоны

работали в соседнем помещении и их специфика работы отличалась от специфики работы других сотрудников их точное число в настоящее время я вспомнить не могу. Из лиц русской национальности непосредственно в отделении работала только я, среди почтальонов в должности сортировщиц работала Джалилова Надежда Ивановна, которая уволилась в связи с выходом на пенсию примерно год назад. Кроме нас, большую часть работников составляли лица азербайджанской национальности, было несколько человек армян и лезгин. Из лиц армянской национальности, работавших в 11-ом отделении я могу вспомнить заместителя начальника отделения Алену и доставщицу Евгению. Обстановка в коллективе была всегда интернациональной, никаких осложнений на межнациональной почве не было.

Хочу показать, что я русская по национальности, длительное время проживаю в Сумгаите, здесь выросли мои дети. Ни я, ни члены моей семьи никогда не испытывали каких-либо притеснений на межнациональной почве, сама я никогда не являлась ни свидетелем, ни участником данных конфликтов. Сумгаит всегда был многонациональным городом, где прекрасно уживались представители многих национальностей..

Как человек, длительное время проживающий в Сумгаите, не могу не отметить те факторы, которые способствовали дестабилизации обстановки перед событиями 1988 года. Факторы, о которых я хочу указать в своих показаниях, на мой взгляд имели отношение к наступившим последствиям в виде массовых беспорядков. Примерно в конце 1987 года в Сумгаит стали прибывать первые беженцы азербайджанской национальности из Армении. Внешне они резко отличались от коренных горожан, сразу было видно, что эти люди длительное время прожили в сельских районах и в основном занимались сельским хозяйством. Если первые беженцы, прибывшие в небольших количествах, в основном размещались у своих родственников и знакомых и их присутствие не могло отразиться на общей обстановке в городе, то в начале 1988 года, когда число беженцев резко увеличилось, их присутствие в городе уже невозможно было не заметить.

Из программ телевидения, газет, радиопередач мне было известно, что определенными кругами Армении и Нагорного Карабаха стала проводиться политика, направленная на разжигание межнациональной розни, в ходе которой им были выдвинуты требования на отделение НКАО

от Азербайджана и присоединение области к Армении. Хотя я никогда не занималась политикой, все эти события не могли пройти мимо меня. Хочу отметить, что в конце 1987 года я обратила внимание на то, что поведение работавших вместе со мной в 11-ом почтовом отделении лиц армянской национальности, стало постепенно меняться. Так, Женья Арустамян, Раиса Межлумян, работавшие с нами в одном коллективе, стали как-то отдаляться от других сотрудников, в основном общались только между собой, при появлении кого-либо из сотрудников азербайджанской или русской национальности их разговоры прекращались. Было видно, что указанные лица вели между собой разговоры, не предназначенные для чужих ушей. По вышеуказанным причинам, услышать содержание этих разговоров было невозможно. Помимо этого, к указанным лицам стали звонить на рабочий телефон какие-то незнакомые лица, с которыми они вели длительные телефонные разговоры. Хочу отметить, что ранее этим лицам никто никогда на рабочее место не звонил, а голоса членов их семей я знала хорошо.

Несколько раз я видела, как к ним на рабочее место приходили лица армянской национальности, которых я ранее никогда не видела в их окружении. На мой вопрос кто эти люди, они отвечали уклончиво, говорили о том, что это родственники из Армении. В основном приходившие к ним лица были молодые люди, явно городской наружности. Так как описываемые мною события имели место в конце 1987-го - начале 1988 года, то есть в зимнее время года, эти лица были в черных длинных плащах. Хочу отметить, что они общались с нашими работниками шепотом, близко наклоняясь к голове собеседника, со стороны это выглядело как то, что два человека ведут между собой секретный разговор. Кроме того, при визите этих лиц на почту, работники армянской национальности старались все сделать для того, чтобы другие работники не видели этих визитов. Они выходили с ними из помещения почты, старались все сделать для того, чтобы эти лица не задерживались в зале почтового отделения. Несколько раз я видела, как приходившие молодые люди заказывали телефонные разговоры с Ереваном, т.е. оформлялись квитанции, выплачивалась определенная сумма денег для телефонного разговора, но сам разговор не предоставлялся, так как телефонный разговор, на мой взгляд, был предлогом, для того, чтобы объяснить визит этих людей и их пребывание в почтовом отделении.

Кроме того, увеличилось число денежных переводов в Армению и Нагорный Карабах, причем переводы были на небольшие суммы от лиц, которые ранее никогда не пользовались услугами нашего почтового отделения. Хочу отметить, что несколько раз подколотые в стопку несколько десятков почтовых переводов от лиц армянской национальности я видела на столе у заместителя начальника нашего отделения Алены Балаян. Суммы в основном были небольшими 10-15 рублей, но их была целая стопка. Это тоже вызывало у меня определенные подозрения, так как Алена не должна была иметь никакого отношения к денежным переводам и тем более, хранить копии квитанций у себя. В то время, когда я увидела эти переводы, Алена составляла какой-то список, но для того, чтобы я не увидела его, закрыла список каким-то другим документом, когда я приблизилась к ней. Сама Алена была очень скрытным, высокомерным человеком, считала себя главным среди работников отделения. Ее муж, насколько мне было известно, постоянно проживал в России и приезжал в Сумгаит только раз в год. У нее было две дочери, но их имена в настоящее время я вспомнить не могу.

Несмотря на все действия сотрудников армянской национальности их отношение к нам, во всяком случае число внешне, ничуть не изменилось. Также внутри коллектива была нормальная рабочая обстановка. Пару раз Алена попыталась заговорить со мной о проблеме НКАО, но как только почувствовала мое неприятие ее рассуждений, то сразу же свернула эту тему. Хочу отметить, что Алена была наиболее опытной и хитрой среди работавших у нас армян. Другие армянки прислушивались к ней. Уже после событий 1988 года мне стало известно, что Алена единственная из работников армянской национальности выехала в Ереван, остальные работники армяне выехали в Россию.

*Протокол с моих слов записан
правильно, мною лично прочитан
В. М.*

**Translation of the evidence given by Marina Nikolayeva Sorokina
into Azerbaijani (presented here in brief)**

I was born in Sumqayit. My husband Vladimir Sorokin has worked in the transportation system for many years. We have three children. I got my higher education in Baku. I worked at the Sumqayit Communications Institute. Later I was manager of the planning department of the post office in the 12th District in Sumqayit. There were people of different nationalities on our staff. We never had arguments or conflicts on ethnic grounds. We felt like we were members of the same family. By the end of 1987 I felt that the attitude of several of my Armenian colleagues became cooler towards us. Yevgeniya Arustamyan and Raisa Mejlumyan would often speak in their own language. Of course there is nothing wrong with that, but as soon as people of other nationalities arrived they would stop their conversation. In December 1987 and January-February 1988 people with beards and wearing black jackets, who did not look like local residents of Sumqayit started to appear with Raisa and Yevgeniya. They would leave the office, stand under the tree and talk together in Armenian. That had never happened before. One day I was in the office of our post office's deputy director Alena Balayan. I saw a lot of 10-15 manats' - worth of money transfers on the table. This made me suspicious. By our internal regulations Balayan had nothing to do with them. I saw Balayan making a big list then. She put the documents and money transfers into a drawer as soon as she saw me. Later we found out that this money was sent to the "Krunk" society in Karabakh.

Our compatriots forced out of Armenia. Early 1988



Sumqayit 1988:

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Eyrüz MAMMADOV • Ramazan MAMMADOV



ПРОТОКОЛ ДОПРОСА
СВИДЕТЕЛЯ

00000022

19 мая 2010 года.

город Сумгаит

Допрос начат: в 14 час 55 мин

Допрос окончен: в 16 час 05 мин

Следователь Следственной группы Генеральной Прокуратуры Азербайджанской Республики, следователь по особо важным делам Следственного Управления по делам о тяжких преступлениях Генеральной Прокуратуры Азербайджанской Республики, советник юстиции Сардар Шамсиев, в помещении Прокуратуры г. Сумгаита в соответствии со ст.ст.85, 226, 227 и 230 УПК Азербайджанской Республики допросил по уголовному делу № 60206 в качестве свидетеля:

ИСМАИЛОВУ ЛЮБОВЬ ВЛАДИМИРОВНУ

Мне разъяснено, что в соответствии Закона Азербайджанской Республики о государственном языке, на территории Азербайджанской Республики делопроизводство производится на азербайджанском языке. В связи с тем заявляю, что мой родной язык русский, азербайджанским языком владею не плохо, но желаю давать показания на родном русском языке, которым владею свободно, в услугах переводчика не нуждаюсь.

Свидетель Исмаилов (Любовь Исмаилова)

Права и обязанности свидетеля, предусмотренные статьями 95, 227 и 230 УПК, а также, право, не свидетельствовать против себя и своих близких родственников, мне разъяснены.

Об ответственности за отказ от дачи показаний по ст.298 УК Азербайджанской Республики и за дачу заведомо ложных показаний по ст.297 УК Азербайджанской Республики предупрежден.

Свидетель Исмаилов (Любовь Исмаилова)

О себе сообщаю следующие:

1. Фамилия, имя, отчество ИСМАИЛОВА ЛЮБОВЬ ВЛАДИМИРОВНА
2. Дата рождения 19 сентября 1958 года
3. Место рождения Российская Федерация, Архангельская область, г. Архангельск
4. Национальность азербайджанка Гражданство Азербайджанская Республика
5. Образование, специальность высшее
6. Место работы и должность Председатель Сумгаитской городской организации русской общины Азербайджана
7. Место жительства г. Сумгаит, 14 квартал, у. Н.Нариманова, 8/15, кв. 17
дом.тел.: 018-65-5-02-13, моб.тел. 050 - 429-42-29
8. Судимость со слов не судима
9. Отношения с подозреваемым, обвиняемым или потерпевшим лицами не имею
10. Документ, удостоверяющий личность личность удостоверена

Свидетель Исмаилов (Любовь Исмаилова)

По существу заданных мне вопросов поясню следующие:

Я родилась в городе Архангельске, с 1986 года и уже 24 года проживаю здесь, в Сумгаите. События в феврале 1988 года, которые здесь имели место, я хорошо помню и сегодня очень сожалею о случившемся. Хочу по поводу этих событий изложить свои соображения.

Я, как не принадлежащая ни к азербайджанской, и ни к армянской национальности, как бы со стороны могу наверное беспристрастно наблюдать и сделать выводы о причинах и обстоятельствах происходивших в Сумгаите в том далеком 1988 году и надеюсь поверите в мою искренность.

Всё началось тогда как раз из-за того, что на волне «перестроечной» политики тогдашнего руководителя СССР Михаила Горбачёва армянские националисты получили как бы импульс для «возрождения» дремлющей своей больной идеи о «восстановлении Великой Армении».

Сразу появились «собранные подписи карабахских армян» под требованиями о необходимости присоединения Нагорно-Карабахской автономной области (НКАО) Азербайджана к Армении.

«Раскручивание» движения шло по опробованной схеме: озвучивание «проблемы» за пределами страны – ее обсуждение в международных структурах – «обеспечение» «волеизъявления» на местах. Дело оставалось за малым: демонстрация «понимания» «чаяний народа» в высших эшелонах власти СССР.

Не секрет, что в ноябре 1987 года, то есть через месяц после ухода со всех занимаемых постов ныне покойного Гейдара Алиева, тогдашний советник Михаила Горбачева по экономическим вопросам Абел Аганбегян в Париже заявил, что Карабах больше связан с Арменией, нежели с Азербайджаном и добавил, что он де надеется, что «в условиях перестройки, демократии эта проблема найдет свое решение».

Разве предложение Абеля Аганбегяна не было направлено на перекройку границ в СССР? И Михаил Горбачёв это не понимал? Я в это в то время не верила и не верю сейчас.

Очевидно было одно: высшая власть Советского Союза вела важнейшую «межнациональную» «партию игры» на «своем поле». А скорее всего Михаил Горбачёв и его окружение тогда думали, что этим могут спасти «Союзное государство».

Армяне же, начиная борьбу за Карабах, были уверены, что они действуют с разрешения Москвы и при ее поощрении. В противном случае их движение никогда так не пошло в гору и массы.

Помню репортажи журналистов-«армянолюбов» из ОРТ из Театральной площади Еревана, действительная ирония судьбы в названии этой площади. Действительный театр, театр трагедий и абсурда.

И в начале 1988 г. «карабахская проблема» вышла на общесоюзный уровень. Начался период доведения до соответствующих союзных структур из Армении и Степанакерта информации о «притеснениях армян азербайджанцами», нахождении «культуры древнего народа» в НКАО «в катастрофическом состоянии» и т. д.

Никто в верхах не останавливал армян. Как же, шла «перестройка», «гласность», входило в обиход «новое политическое мышление», «социализм с человеческим лицом».

С 12 февраля в НКАО Азербайджана пошла в ход бессрочная волна митингов против Азербайджана. А 20 февраля на поле «волеизъявления» официально вступили партийно-советские органы НКАО, которые требовали «воссоединения с матушкой

Армений». А после состоявшегося в Москве Пленума 17 февраля 1988 года, сессия Совета народных депутатов Нагорного Карабаха приняла решение «просить Верховные советы Азербайджана, Армении и СССР «решить вопрос о передаче НКАО из состава Азербайджанской ССР в состав Армянской ССР».

А Президиум Верховного Совета Армянской ССР не дождавшись даже соответствующей процедуры обсуждения вопроса со стороны Азербайджанских властей сразу нагло внес постановление о включении НКАО в состав Армении.

Всё это подтверждает регулируемость разворачивавшихся процессов «сверху», так как в условиях еще не набравшей полных оборотов так называемой «перестроечной гласности» какой-то облсовет не мог бы проявить такую наглую и несанкционированную антиконституционную и незаконную инициативу, а Верховный Совет какой-то союзной республики так нагло перекроить границы, как это сделал Верховный Совет Армянской ССР.

А на волне тогдашней болтологии о «перестроечной гласности» внешне активизация выборных органов власти НКАО Азербайджанской ССР преподносилась как бы слышимостью «гласа народа».

«Чем дальше в лес, тем больше дров», гласит народная мудрость. А армяне уже «наломали много дров». Не потому, что были неопытными, а скорее всего наоборот. Им помогали вовсю. Еще с января 1988 года азербайджанцев стали изгонять из Армении. В те дни первые сотни беженцев-азербайджанцев из Кафанского и Мегринского районов Армении прибыли в Азербайджан.

Результат не заставил себя долго ждать и уже 22 февраля 1988 года появились первые жертвы конфликта, в стычке в Аскеране, близ Степанакерта, армяне убили двух азербайджанцев.

Я просмотрела по Интернету армянские источники. Наличие февральских беженцев из Армении фиксирует и армянская сторона. Армяне признают, что в двадцатых числах февраля 1988 г., в основном из Кафанского, а также из других районов Армении азербайджанское население стало бежать в Азербайджан.

Но армяне не замечая того, что это их изобличает, добавляют, что наверное воля и подстрекательство задумавших будущую резню заставило азербайджанцев вдруг покинуть места постоянного жительства. Тем временем люди из среды беженцев, которые по воле судьбы прибывали в наш город и случайно становились нашими собеседниками рассказывали нам об ужасах, которые с ними творили армяне, говорили, что армяне чтобы добиться «восоединения» готовят какой-то кощунственный план и муссируют это среди азербайджанцев, смысл которого сводится к тому, чтобы по претворению в жизнь этого плана азербайджанцев будут бить не только армяне, а все.

Таким образом армяне даже не желая того, фактически свидетельствовали об изначальной управляемости конфликтом. Конечно, они стараются все свалить на азербайджанскую сторону. Но надо сказать, что в тот период азербайджанское руководство всячески придерживалась промосковской позиции, наверное надеялась на элементарную порядочность московского руководства, старалось успокоить страсти собственного народа, сделала несколько попыток договориться с армянским руководством, но все было тщетно и это конечно была слабостью азербайджанской стороны, но главная вина лежала при этом на проармянски настроенном московском руководстве.

Помню, в те тяжелые дни даже в Кафанский район Армении были введены воинские подразделения Советской Армии для предотвращения резни азербайджанцев, назначенной согласно «поступившим в Москву сигналам» на 20 февраля». Однако проведенным «анализом миграции азербайджанцев» не были выявлены «какие-либо незаконные действия армян», только был констатирован факт внезапного отъезда примерно 200 азербайджанцев в Баку 27 февраля 1988 года одним

поездом. Последующие события показали насколько «объективным» был этот «анализ».

Таким образом, к концу февраля 1988 г. в регионе наличествовали все элементы, должные взорвать назлектризованную ситуацию: территориальные претензии к Азербайджану со стороны Армении, смерть двоих азербайджанцев и наличие беженцев из Армении в Азербайджан. Оставалось лишь подтолкнуть ситуацию к открытому противостоянию, что для управленцев не составляло никакого труда.

Помню, 26 февраля 1988 года в Сумгаите без каких-либо эксцессов прошел митинг в поддержку территориальной целостности Азербайджана. 27 февраля он продолжался с участием нескольких тысяч человек, включая руководство города. С вечера этого субботнего дня стали фиксироваться факты насилия против жителей города - армян по национальности, продолжавшиеся до 29 февраля.

Меня осенила сейчас мысль: поверим, что оказавшиеся в Сумгаите беженцы стали расписывать происходящие ужасы с азербайджанским населением в Армении и призывали к ответным мерам. С 27 февраля в Сумгаите гибли мирные жители. Бесчинства продолжались не час, не два, а целые три суток. А центральные власти Советской страны за всё это время бездействовали и практически способствовали расширению масштабов трагедии.

Я помню, подразделения Советской Армии и МВД СССР стали прибывать в Сумгаит только вечером 28 февраля, а еще через сутки в вечерние часы 29 февраля, то есть в присутствии войск было убито по крайней мере десять армян, совершены погромы десятков квартир, я сама беседовала с пострадавшими. Помню, они рассказывали, что когда войска вступили в Сумгаит, беспомощные люди бросались за помощью к БТР-ам, на что военные отвечали, что у них нет приказа вмешиваться.

В таком случае у меня и сейчас возникает вопрос: для чего тогда были введены войска? Значит таким же успехом была дана команда местной милиции и другим органам не вмешиваться. Я по профессии учитель истории. Я сейчас воочию вспомнила: да, никто из властей не вмешивался.

То, что в Сумгаите находились войска Советской Армии и внутренние войска, оно ничего не изменило, солдаты наблюдали за погромом, болтались по улицам. Непонятная была обстановка. Я и это помню, что мы спрашивали у высших офицеров, с которыми в день несколько раз приходилось встречаться, почему они не вмешиваются, не останавливают преступников? Они ссылались на отсутствие приказа высшего начальства.

Спустя уже несколько месяцев после событий я помню, что Горбачёв с экрана телевизора говорил, что якобы трагедии можно было избежать, не опоздай войска на три часа. А я спрашиваю, какой толк из того, что они были введены, при них же погибло, понесли увечье смотрите сколько еще людей.

Лишь к концу 29 февраля войска получили приказ остановить беспорядки, да и то без использования огнестрельного оружия.

Насколько известно, пострадавшим были приценены повреждения в основном твердыми тупыми предметами, иногда пострадавшие говорили, что у «демонстрантов» на руках были куски заточенной арматурной стали. Видно было, что эти так называемые «хулиганье» по Горбачёву хорошо были проинструктированы и действовали очень грамотно.

Мне по сей день интересно, так это были «хулиганье» или нерасшифрованные до сего дня профессионалы и провокаторы под личиной азербайджанцев, которые орудовали в Сумгаите?

Хорошо помню, что и армяне, и азербайджанцы рассказывали, что среди участников действительно были беженцы из Армении. Но, вместе с тем, они говорили о странных, нездешнего вида молодых мужчинах в черных поношенных

комбинезонах, которые заводили толпу против армян, призывали к мести. Я сама находясь на площади этих молодых мужчин в черном видела.

Из услышанных разговоров я сделала вывод: В Сумгаите к этим погромам готовились, и готовились заблаговременно. Но за один день, то есть с 26-го на 27 февраля, то есть в течение 1 дня с момента приезда беженцев из Армении, этого нельзя было сделать.

Я выше заметила: во время митингов среди митингующих появились молодые мужчины нездешнего вида, которые призывали людей к мести, у них были адреса армян, не покинувших Сумгаит, они раздавали людям возбуждающие таблетки, спиртные напитки. Кто они были? Они с самого начала знали, где произойдут погромы, направляли туда специальных людей, которые пристроившись на удобном месте они снимали на видео все происходящее. Потом, после свершившегося, еще когда из-за информационной блокады в Азербайджане толком никто не знал о случившемся, армяне из разных радиоголосов иностранных государств стали трубить, что в Сумгаите резали армян, что у них имеются видеозаписи, что они покажут и докажут всему миру какие изверги эти азербайджанцы.

Потом, почему-то у армян идея показа этих видеозаписей захлебнулась, наверное им кто-то объяснил, чем это может для них обернуться. Я слышала, будто во Франции армянам так и сказали: «вы же сами себя изобличаете в инсценировке». Это было бы настоящий крах для армян, хотя оно так и есть, ради каких-то идиотских идей организовать убийство собственных соратников.

Думаю, что если иметь ввиду набирания оборотов «движения за воссоединение» с конца 1987 г., то во времени у разработчиков этой операции ограничения не были. И исполнение задания профессионалами, под прикрытием образа «одурманенных наркотиками и спиртным экстремистов», особых проблем не составляло. Преступный же элемент без проблем мог подклочиться к организованной вакханалии, что и произошло на самом деле.

Но по какой причине азербайджанская сторона была очень легко воспринята «человеконенавистнической»? Ведь в союзном обществе, преподносимым коммунистической идеологической машиной в форме «новой общности - советский народ», отношение к армянам и азербайджанцам должно было быть идентичным?

В историческом контексте я давно заметила, что отношения России - СССР к армянскому и азербайджанскому разные: армяне для России, в отличие от азербайджанцев, «свои».

Могу лишь вспомнить высказывание не помню кого-то из известных армян о том, что русскому народу не обязательно знать историю Армении, русские если обратятся к своей истории, то все увидят сами и встанут на защиту Армении, поскольку интересы армян и русских всегда совпадали. А от позиции России в карабахском вопросе зависит все. Как историк я добавлю еще, что когда Россия стала расширять свое влияние на южный Кавказ, надо признать, что их здесь поддерживали в основном армяне, которые от России ожидали то же самое, создание «Великой Армении».

Тем временем я, как всю свою сознательную жизнь проживающая в Азербайджане русская, мне воочию известно, что армяне по сравнению с азербайджанцами были более чванливыми и кичливыми, высокомерными и наглыми, любили похвалу и были нетерпимы к критике. Не помню ни одного писателя, поэта или публициста армянина, которых читала, который бы не восхвалял армянского «гения». Постоянно проводилась мысль о величии армян, муссировалась тема армянской «исконности» территорий Кавказа и Турции и т. д. Это нередко распространялось даже на школьные учебники, где на картах СССР Нагорный Карабах или Нахичевань как бы «случайно» могли оказаться на территории Армянской ССР.

Отсутствие же в основном какого-либо отрицательного резонанса со стороны центральных властей на факты такого рода свидетельствует об идеологической поддержке высших советских властей данных акций армян.

Но мне известны и мнения таких русских как Пушкин, Грибоедов, Величко, Шавров и др., которые писали или высказывали объективные мнения про армян.

Я прочла как-то мысли одного русского – советского генерала, фамилию которого запамятовала, он был депутатом из Закавказья о том, что в стране «устойчиво формировали на весь Союз мнение об исключительности армянского народа, его особой роли, в связи с чем сохраняется неравное и не везде объективное отношение к Армении и Азербайджану в рамках Союза: это отношение проявляется как в средствах массовой информации, так и со стороны отдельных должностных лиц.

Кроме того, имелаась и иная подоплека появления у советских людей антиазербайджанских настроений. Разворачивающиеся вокруг НКАО события официальные советские средства массовой информации практически не освещали. Лишь в марте 1988 г. общественность была «допущена» к получению информации на данный счет, но и этого оказалось достаточным для «определения» правых и виноватых в конфликте.

В результате такого однобокого отношения Азербайджан врезался в российское сознание ужасом сумгаитского погрома, который противоречил советским стереотипам о «дружбе народов», но соответствовал глубоким стереотипам русского сознания, связанным с кривым пониманием Ислама. Сумгаит оживил представления о нетерпимых, фанатичных и жестоких «басурманах» и турках. Азербайджанцы ...прекрасно укладывались в два одинаково неприятных образа... Как турки они – почти турки, представления о которых у русских были сформированы русско-турецкими войнами и связаны с образом «янычар», безжалостно убивавших христианских женщин и детей. В этой схеме Сумгаит был вполне понятен, и армяно-азербайджанский конфликт прекрасно «лег» на унаследованные русскими образы жестоких «басурман», истребляющих маленький христианский народ – армян. Так, убеждение в «миролюбии» армян и «кровожадности» азербайджанцев плотно засело в умах советских граждан.

В 1988 г. случилось страшное. Русская советская интеллигенция предала азербайджанский народ, безоглядно встав на сторону армян... Людям, всего лишь сомневающимся в праве Армении на Карабах, относились с презрением. Все «прогрессивные» ораторы с пафосом и дрожью в голосе вещали «о великой культуре армянского народа и грязных азербайджанских варварах». Это по моему глубокому убеждению было настоящим предательством не только по отношению к азербайджанцам, но и по отношению к российским традициям, по отношению к принципиальным основам советского и имперского сознания. По всем законам тогдашнего словоблудия о перестройке и демократизации и гласности азербайджанцев объявили оплотом коммунистического режима, а армян – борцами за свободу и демократию. Азербайджанцы – отсталые, армяне – прогрессивные, азербайджанцы – варвары, армяне – благородные борцы за право нации на самоопределение...

Таким образом, в специально организованном в конце 1987 г. противостоянии азербайджанская сторона изначально оказалась под прессом советской идеологической машины.

Факт появления перед сумгаитскими событиями азербайджанских беженцев из Армении не был освещен фактически ни одним советским печатным изданием, кроме Азербайджана об этом не было известно ни в одном уголке СССР. А вот выезд из Сумгаита после событий армян, ставший достоянием жителей страны, привел к

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дальнейшей поляризации в поддержке одной из сторон конфликта. И этот факт тоже был в пользу армян.

Но хочу обратить внимание на одну немаловажную и интересную деталь. Уверена, знаю, что почти 99 процентов армян покинувших Сумгаит, не поехали в Армению или Карабах. Мне показалось удивительным...многие армяне поехали в Россию, в основном в Краснодарский и Ставропольский края, в Ростовскую область, Москву и Подмоскovie, немало в Среднюю Азию, Ташкент и Самарканд.

Данный факт еще раз свидетельствует, что «волеизъявление» армян Азербайджана о «воссоединении» с Арменией возникло не в самом народе а было введено в его сознание со стороны. В подтверждение этого хочу заметить, что даже после сумгаитских событий армяне в основной массе продолжали жить и трудиться в Азербайджане и по официальным данным по сей день в Азербайджане живут более 30 тыс. армян.

Я могу рассказать об армянах много чего не обеляющее им лицо вещей, но могу быть неправильно понята. Подумают, что я защищаю азербайджанцев.

В дополнение, хочу заметить, что накануне Сумгаитских событий я слышала много разговоров о сборе денег в фонд Карабахского движения «Крунк», говорили, что в Сумгаите у этого движения имелся филиал, множество армян тогда не верило в будущее этого движения, в их идеи, говорили, что Карабах никто не даст Армении, но все-таки кто из солидарности, кто из боязни, давал в этот фонд деньги. А кто не давал, потом «поплатились». Вот так «сородичи» с ними рассчитались. Виноватыми объявили вес азербайджанский народ.

Мне также известно о том, что среди погромщиков были и лица армянской национальности, одного даже осудили, его фамилия Григорян. Его бы наверное отпустили бы, как армянина, так как с самого начала действия, армянам в этом спектакле была отведена роль «потерпевших», а азербайджанцы уже были объявлены «преступниками», и если бы его как злостного насильника не опознала бедная армянская девушка, он наверное тоже ушел бы от ответственности. По этой простой причине многих провокаторов – армян, которые были задержаны, которые спровоцировали погромы и насилия в отношении армянских семей, не поддерживающих «идеи присоединения Карабаха к Армении», отпустили и они остались безнаказанными.

В конце добавлю, что в нашем квартале, в те дни азербайджанцы все без исключения спрятали и спасли жизни всех без исключения своих армянский соседей от самих же армян. Этого никто не должен забывать.

Больше пояснить нечего.

*Протокол мною прочитан.
и с. меня слов записано верно.
Дополнений и поправок не имею.*

Свидетель Исмаилова (Любовь Исмаилова)

Допросил:

Следователь

В.М.Шамсиев

Сардар Шамсиев

We present a translation in brief of evidence given by Lyubov Vladimirovna Ismayilova to the investigator of the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

I was born in the city of Arkhangelsk. I have been living in Sumqayit since 1986. I would like to state my opinion and views about the Sumqayit incidents of 1988. I am neither Azerbaijani nor Armenian. It is easier for me to look at and evaluate what is happening from the outside and I would like you to trust in my sincerity.

It all started with Gorbachev's policy of perestroika. The Armenians wanted to use his rise to power as a historical opportunity and they promoted the idea of a "Great Armenia". They began to collect signatures urgently in Nagorno-Karabakh. They were demanding that Moscow and the Kremlin take Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and give it to Armenia.

It is no secret that while Heydar Aliyev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo, was in power it would be impossible for the Armenians to realize their plans to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

After Aliyev was removed from his post, Gorbachev's assistant on economic issues, Abel Aganbegyan, gave a speech to the Armenian community in Paris stating that Nagorno-Karabakh belonged more to Armenia and that they would use perestroika and democracy being promoted in the country to that end. Do you think that Aganbegyan's Paris statement wasn't aimed at changing the borders? Do you think that Gorbachev didn't notice this? I don't believe this and never believed it. Gorbachev understood very well.

In early 1988 Nagorno-Karabakh had already become a Union-wide problem. The Armenian nationalists had put their propaganda mechanisms into operation. There were meetings in Stepanakert and Yerevan and strikes were spread everywhere. They shouted slogans about Azerbaijanis not letting Armenians live quietly in Nagorno-Karabakh and that they wanted to leave Azerbaijan.

There was nobody in Moscow to give a firm response to the Armenians' illegal demands, on the contrary, forces close to the Armenians were instigating problems and pitting the two nationalities against each other.

A session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region People's Soviet was held on 17 February 1988. There was one topic on the agenda – to ask the Azerbaijan SSR, the Armenian SSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet to remove Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and give it to Armenia.

The Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet hurriedly took this topic to the Supreme Soviet without waiting for the response of the Azerbaijani side and passed a resolution on annexing the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region to Armenia. Even though these decisions were contrary to the constitution, Moscow did not issue a serious response. According to the laws of the Soviet Union no republic had the right to make decisions contrary to the constitution without Moscow's permission.

From the beginning of 1988 Azerbaijanis began to be forced out of Armenia. Armenians killed two Azerbaijani youths in Askeran. I saw this on the internet. Armenians confess on many sites that they banished Azerbaijanis from their lands in those times. Refugees from Armenia spoke in detail about the attitudes, insults and violence done to them. The Armenians were saying that disorders would soon start in Sumqayit. At that time the leaders of Azerbaijan were confident that Moscow would take serious steps against Armenia. But Moscow did not react; this made the Armenians more confident and strengthened the nationalist movements.

I remember that at that time Soviet troops had entered Qafan region. They say that there was a signal from Moscow saying that there was going to be a massacre of Azerbaijanis on 20 February. But that proved to be a provocation. Upon this signal, the Armenians forced 200 Azerbaijani families out of Qafan within a few days. A meeting in the cause of defending Azerbaijani territorial integrity was organised in Sumqayit on 26 February 1988. I have now begun to understand that there was disorder; people were killed, houses were destroyed and violence was committed in Sumqayit over 3 days. The leaders and power structures of the USSR did not even consider intervening. After all, the troops of the USSR Ministries of Defence and Internal Affairs were already present in Sumqayit! Houses were destroyed and people were killed before their eyes. I wonder why they did not prevent those incidents. Civilians appealed to the soldiers and officers sitting on BTRs for help, but their answer was “we have not been given any orders yet and cannot interfere”. A question arises: why were the troops sent to Sumqayit?

Gorbachev had said in a speech that the troops were only a few hours late in Sumqayit. Do you think telling such lies is appropriate for a head of state? As a resident of Sumqayit, I was begging the soldiers and officers not to allow bloodshed, but they responded by shrugging their shoulders, saying "it's not up to us" and avoiding any communication.

The group of 'hooligans' that Gorbachev was talking about had created disorder in Sumqayit. Do you think those young 'hooligans' were capable of committing such a major outrage in Sumqayit? That is completely illogical. No doubt Gorbachev was aware of everything.

Both Azerbaijanis and Armenians were talking about Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia being involved in the incidents. Besides them there were big, healthy, athletic-looking young men in black coats. They were leading people and telling the immature youth which buildings to attack. I came to the conclusion that the Sumqayit incidents were a pre-planned and well-thought-out operation. Those young men in black coats were distributing drugs and alcohol. The youngsters who took those pills became even more aggressive. As I said before, Armenians had planned the action in advance. Cameras had been installed in different parts of Sumqayit and the unrest was filmed with video cameras. Even though the documentary film was shown outside the country, most Armenians now want to deny this film, because they are afraid of being exposed, as the documentary consists completely of edited film.

I would like to discuss this topic as a historian. Although we also lived in the Soviet Union, during the Soviet era the leaders in Moscow always favoured Armenia and helped them financially. But there was some jealousy of Azerbaijan, because the interests of Russia and Armenia have always coincided. If it wasn't for Russia, Armenia would be weak and dependant on other countries.

I have been living in Azerbaijan for a long time and as a historian I would like to say that compared to Azerbaijanis, Armenians are more malicious, envious and arrogant people, who don't like criticism. You cannot find a single Armenian writer or poet who doesn't include propaganda about "Great Armenia" in his work. If Armenians read Pushkin, Griboyedov or Velichko, they would witness who the Armenian people really are.

In 1988 anti- Azerbaijani propaganda had become very popular in most of the mass media published in Moscow. I would say that the Russian

intelligentsia had betrayed Azerbaijan and taken the Armenians' side. This was unforgivable from them. Azerbaijan has always been the same towards all other nationalities and habitually lived in peaceful and quiet relations with everyone. They have been an example to other nationalities for their hospitality and kindness.

I would like to refer to one other fact. I can say for sure that most Armenians who left Sumqayit did not move to Yerevan or Stepanakert, but to the Krasnodar, Rostov and Stavropol regions of Russia, and some to Central Asia. This proves that the idea of joining Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia did not come from the people, but was an external import to the agenda and the people's brains had been filled with their dirty and disgusting policies. Today there is not a single Azerbaijani left in Armenia. But 30,000 Armenians live in Azerbaijan.

The "Krunk" society formed in Nagorno-Karabakh had branches in Sumqayit. Every month they would collect money and transfer it to Stepanakert. They would attack and rob houses and kill those who resisted. If an Armenian girl had not revealed Grigoryan's violence against the Armenians during the Sumqayit incidents, he would probably also have escaped punishment. Grigoryan was not alone in his misdeeds, but had close assistants. Unfortunately many of them avoided investigation for unknown reasons and most of them left Sumqayit. At the end of my explanation I would like to state that Azerbaijanis in my block had hidden Armenian families in their houses and saved them from death during those incidents. Nobody should forget this!

**THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR'S
OFFICE OF AZERBAIJAN****8 September 2010****No 60206****Sumqayit****Witness interview
PROTOCOL**

Interview started: 11:00

Interview ended: 13:00

Valentina Tikhonovna Mehdiyeva, a citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan, born on 22 July 1949 in Voronezh, with a secondary education, a retired resident of Sumqayit, was questioned as a witness under articles 95, 227 and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan by **Elmar Alikram oghlu Mammadov**, legal advisor on especially important cases of the serious crimes investigation department of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

I state below in response to the questions I was asked:

I have been living in Sumqayit since 1959. After graduating from school no 11 in 1967, I started working as a telephone-operator in the communications office. I worked there for 35 years. I am now retired. There were three shifts in our workplace. There were many Armenians in our team and most of them held very responsible positions. We had very good relations among the team members.

From the beginning of 1988 the attitude of the Armenians towards Azerbaijanis, as well as Russians, started to change. Calls to Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia increased that month. We were not able to become familiar with the content of these calls, as they were processed by the Armenians themselves. At first telephone conversations were mainly in Russian, but later they gradually switched to Armenian.

I was a witness of the Armenians passing primitively-published newspaper pages to each other at work. They would go to their rooms and read these materials secretly. Their true nationalist and chauvinist

character was revealed in 1988. We can give Emma Arushanyan as an example of the extremist Armenians. We would often see young men around her. They were whispering in the Armenian language. We had never come across anything like this. We were always interested in the clothes of these young men. They were wearing black trench coats and had black beards. Later we found out that they were coming from Nagorno-Karabakh.

By order of the department chief we had to stay at work on 28-29 February. But Emma refused to work. Later we found out that she had withdrawn her money from the savings bank and left Sumqayit. I think that it was the Armenians themselves who organized the Sumqayit incidents, because we have never seen any malicious attitude from the Azerbaijani side towards other nationalities. I should also note that if it were not for the humanity of Azerbaijanis, more Armenians would have been killed in Sumqayit. There were many Azerbaijanis who put themselves in danger in order to protect them. For some reason Armenians do not say anything about this abroad.

Witness:



Sevda Musa qizi Nuriyeva, from evidence to the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

I have been the director of Savings Bank No 0177 for a long time. The savings bank I was working at was in the administration building of the Chemical Industrial Union. There were many Armenians in our office. Most of them were depositors. Almost all of the Armenians withdrew their money from the savings bank in February 1988. Later we found out that many Armenians had sent most of their money to the "Krunk" society in Nagorno-Karabakh through a lady called Marina Osipyan.

Khanim Rahman qizi Jafarova, Yazgul Alasgar qizi Quliyeva, Zamina Mahmudqizi Mammadova, Marina Nikolayevna Sorokina, Saida Sirajaddin qizi Nuriyeva, Kheyranza Khantay qizi Ahmadova and others who worked in different branches of the savings bank in 1988 stated in their evidence that some of the depositors, such as Lida Martirosova, Siranush Baranova and Ramella Ayrapetyan did not wish to leave Sumqayit. But they were forced to leave Sumqayit. According to Ramella Ayrapetyan, telephone calls from Karabakh and a few nationalists in Sumqayit demanded that they left.

They were saying that there were going to be disorders in Sumqayit soon, that their houses would be robbed and that there would be violence and severe action taken against those who refused to pay money to "Krunk". *Because we were really scared we had no other choice but to transfer our money to Karabakh. Then we would stay safe.*

Yes, the "Krunk" society adopted a tough stance towards their own citizens, warning of other tragedies they would face in the future. Many Armenian families had moved to Sumqayit in the 1940s and 50s, taken up professions, got married and lived in peace and harmony with the people of other nationalities there. But Armenian nationalists who opposed this harmony had already planned violence against people of their own nationality. The support of the Dashnaksutyun Party, the Armenian intelligence agencies and Moscow was evident in this work.

There was truth in what was said. Members of the "Krunk" society conducted their nationalist policy in different establishments, institutions and organizations in Sumqayit and often met with envoys from Yerevan and Stepanakert. Witnesses also mentioned this in their evidence.

**THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN****2 August 2011****No 60206****Baku****Witness interview
PROTOCOL**

Interview started: 13:30

Interview ended: 15:00

Citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan, born on 8 July 1960 in Qusar, Azerbaijani, has secondary education, a dispatcher at the garage of the Sumqayit medical department, resident of Sumqayit, **Rza Hamid oghlu Rzayev** was interviewed as a witness under articles 227-230 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan by **Elmar Alikram oghlu Mammadov**, legal advisor on especially important cases of the serious crimes investigation department of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

In response to the questions that I have been asked I would like to state that I have been living in Sumqayit since 1981. I have been working as a painter in the garage of the Sumqayit medical department. I was appointed to the position of shift mechanic after graduating from technical school. I am currently a dispatcher at the garage.

As a Sumqayit resident I can say that Russians, Azerbaijanis, Lezgis, Armenians, Ukrainians and people of other nationalities lived here in peace. People of different nationalities have worked in the garage that I worked at since the day that the city's foundations were laid.

There were about 25-30 workers. Several Armenians among them were notable for their nationalism and the leader was the garage director, Karlen Mikhaylovich Babayan. Among his close friends I can name the lathe operator Valeriy, the tyre master Dima, the locksmith Arkadiy and the drivers Boris and Yura. The Armenians who were working for us, as well as friends I didn't know, would often gather around Karlen Babayan in the evenings. Later I found out that they were Armenians who had come

from Stepanakert. They spoke in Armenian. Karlen took some notes on paper.

Several times 7-8 people came to Karlen in cars from the Republic of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. When I asked Karlen who they were he said that they were his relatives. I did not attach much importance to it at that time. There were many good masters in our garage. Most of those who came in for repairs had come from Armenia. I could tell from the car licence numbers.

Twice a month, when we were given our salaries, the Armenians would gather at Dima's box to make some unknown list and collect money. Later we found out that this money was going to the "KrunK" society in Nagorno-Karabakh.

*Approximately towards the end of 1987, I started to feel that there was some kind of change happening in the mood of the Armenians who lived in Sumqayit. From the mass disorders that happened in February 1988, I realized that Karlen Balayan and the Armenians around him had created a core of the "KrunK" society in our garage. The two called Dima and Boris did most of the propaganda work in Karlen's group. I was in Dima's box several times for repair work. I saw primitively printed newspapers there in the Armenian language. Dima personally made speeches several times to me and other workers about Nagorno-Karabakh and he tried some propaganda. He would always say that sooner or later Nagorno-Karabakh would be taken from Azerbaijan and given to Armenia. At that time I did not know that Dima was from Nagorno-Karabakh, because I was not interested in such things. **I told Dima several times: "But you were born and raised in Sumqayit, what is your interest in this topic that you keep promoting it?" Neither Dima nor the Armenians around him liked that. One day Boris told me: "See what happens in Sumqayit!"** Again I did not take his words seriously.*

Karlen, Dima and Boris were aware of the disorders to come in Sumqayit. They managed to flee in time. I had seen Eduard Grigoryan in the garage several times too. I knew him, but we had no communication.

On 1 February 1988 I saw people around Dima who did not look like locals. They were tall young people in black trench coats. They spoke Armenian among themselves. When they saw me looking at them they

would go into the box. Grigoryan was also often among them. They would come empty-handed, but leave with notebooks.

During the mass disorders in the city I was at home and didn't go out into the city. Later I found out that the apartment of an Armenian who lived in the same building as him and who refused to pay money to the "Krunk" society had been robbed. But the house of another Armenian in our neighbourhood was not robbed because he was paying money regularly to "Krunk". I came to the conclusion that the houses of Armenians who did not pay were listed. I remember Grigoryan leaving the box holding a notebook. Using the list from Karlen and Dima Grigoryan he incited a group of immature extremists who went mad with the noise and began to create mass disorder.

Witness



Rzayev R. H.

**THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN****2 August 2011****No 60206****Baku****Witness interview
PROTOCOL**

Interview started: 15:30

Interview ended: 17:30

Citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan, born on 4 February 1961 in Ordubad, with secondary education, Azerbaijani resident of Sumqayit, working at the garage of the Sumqayit medical department as a motor mechanic, **Farhad Asad oghlu Movsumov** was questioned as a witness under articles 95, 227 and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan by **Elmar Alikram oghlu Mammadov**, legal advisor on especially important cases of the serious crimes investigation department of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

I would like to state in answer to the questions I have been asked:

I have been living in Sumqayit since 1979. From that year until now I have been working as a motor mechanic in the city medical department. People of many nationalities lived peacefully in Sumqayit. Its builders have also been of various nationalities. The staff of the garage I was working at was considered to be an international one. Russians, Armenians and Lezgis worked here as well as Azerbaijanis. Before the Sumqayit events of 1988 the attitude of several Armenians working in our garage changed sharply. The director of the garage was Karlen Babayan. He had gathered a group of Armenians around him that he trusted. Among them I can name the tyre master Dima, the metal worker Arkadi, the driver Boris Poqosyan, the driver Yura Babayan, Samvel Martirosyan and the blacksmith Sergey. Unknown people gathered in the garage before the incidents. They spoke mainly Armenian. Then Karlen hosted guests from Yerevan and Stepanakert in his study. They did not let anybody else in. To be honest I did not pay

any attention to what they were talking about. Some people, the people I have mentioned, would gather in Karlen's office when we got our salaries. And this looked very suspicious to us. Later we found out that they were sending financial aid to the "Krunk" society in Nagorno-Karabakh. All this was managed to a plan and regulated from the centre.

After the events that happened in February 1988, I understood that Karlen Babayan had created a core of the "Krunk" society and was its leader. But the main propagandists were the tyre master Dima and blacksmith Sergey. They were seen as Karlen's right hand. I saw several papers and lists in Armenian in Dima's box. When we talked about this with Dima he would say that sooner or later Nagorno-Karabakh was going to be theirs. Let me note that besides being members of "Krunk", Karlen, Dima, Sergey and Boris were active members of the Dashnaksutyun Party too.

Eduard Grigoryan, who led the Sumqayit events, also went to Karlen. I used to know him as 'Pasha'. He was very cunning and sly. He would always speak Azerbaijani to us. Among those who participated in the Sumqayit events and committed violent crimes, I knew Pasha and I realized that he was Eduard Grigoryan.

I would also like to note one other thing; that Karlen had a friend in Baku called Valeri, who was a bus driver. He drove a 'Laz' bus. The rumours were that following instructions from Armenian extremists Valeri had come to Sumqayit after dark and hit several Azerbaijanis with his bus and killed them. Everybody talked about this in the garage.

Most of those who participated in the incidents were drunk. They were taking drugs. There were many tall young men among them wearing black jackets. They incited immature people to create disorder and yell "Death to the Armenians!" They attacked houses that were on lists they had.

Witness



Movsumov F. A.

THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

27.07.2010 No 60206 Baku

Witness interview
PROTOCOLInterview started: 10:00
Interview ended: 14:15

Citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan, born on 29 August 1961 in Sumqayit, with secondary education, married, Azerbaijani resident of Sumqayit, working at the garage of the Sumqayit medical department as a motor mechanic, **Igor Mammadkhanovich Aghayev** was questioned as a witness under articles 227 and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan by **Sardar Murtuz oghlu Jarchiyev**, member of the investigation group of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

NOTE: Armenians with the family name Petrosyan and Paqosyan, who committed a number of criminal offences and murders in Moscow, are wanted by the USSR's Ministry of Interior Affairs. These two criminals took an active part in the crimes committed in Sumqayit.

Aghayev said in his evidence: *I participated in the meeting organized in front of the City Party Committee on 28 February 1988. Even though I was born in Sumqayit, I did not recognize most of the people who had gathered there. A person of average height with a black beard and around 40-45 years old caught my attention during the meeting for his non-Azerbaijani accent. Then at around 17:00 I saw and recognized two young people about 30-35 years old, with athletic physique and Caucasian appearance in black trench coats at the front of crowds moving towards the 3rd district. One of them was the young man with a black beard who had been among the meeting participants gathered in front of the Sumqayit City Party Committee.*

When the inspectors of the USSR Prosecutor's Office questioned Aghayev in 1988, he gave some information about those participants of the

meeting. The inspectors had told him that those two people were wanted in Russia for committing murder, and their last names were Petrosyan and Poqosyan.

Besides Azerbaijanis, there were Russians, Armenians, Jews, Lezgis, Talyshes, Udins, Tats and Ukrainians working at the No 2 Specialized Mechanization Institute where I was working. Armenians were the second largest group after the Azerbaijanis. Of them Adolf Sergeyevich Sukiasov was the deputy director; Vladimir Makarovich Karapetyants was the chief mechanic, Ivan Andreyevich Sarkisyan was an engineer in the industrial-project department, Nobel Eminovich Andriyan was the excavator operator, Eduard Andreyevich Saqatellov was director of the technical department and Armo Danilovich Osipyen was director of the dispatcher service. There were around 30 Armenians.

On the eve of the February 1988 incidents, Nobel Andriyan, who was always known for his extremist views, was often absent from work and later we found out that he was going to Karabakh and was an active member of "Krunk". When his colleagues told Nobel that serious steps would be taken against him he let slip the following: "Something very serious is going to happen in Sumqayit, like an earthquake, and I have to leave this place with my family." I told him: "Nobel, I know why you are running away. I found a list of "Krunk" society members who live in Sumqayit in your excavator cabin and you probably want to play some game here and that's why you are running away." Nobel disappeared the following day.

Adolf Sukiasov from the same institution, who gave evidence as a witness in court around that time said: It was not Azerbaijanis who committed the crimes in Sumqayit, but Armenians.

Witness



Aghayev I. M.

* * *

... The “Krunk” society collected monthly fees not only from the Armenians who lived in Sumqayit, but from their compatriots in all parts of the country. With this money they would buy politicians, deputies and journalists who favoured the Armenians and got them involved in propaganda. “Krunk” also cooperated closely with the ‘Karabakh Committee’ in Yerevan, noted for its nationalist policy. These two organizations had the same aim and both were regulated from the Centre, Moscow and the Armenian lobby abroad. We should note one point. Towards the end of 1988 a number of ‘Karabakh Committee’ activists were arrested for holding meetings and disaffection. This had aroused the fury of Armenian chauvinists and they had started to organise protests.

One of the ‘Karabakh Committee’ activists, Manucharyan, said in an interview with the magazine *Stern*, published in Hamburg on 21 December 1988: *All the young people in Armenia are prepared with grenades and arms in their hands. Their number is not known. If the situation gets tense they are ready to strike.* Armenian nationalist powers began to threaten the government, parties and power structures. An extremist article was published in the *Communist* newspaper in Yerevan in December 1988. Note the ‘**Ultimatum**’ part of the article below:

Armenian nationalists stated without fear that they will use terror and the Stinger weapons given by their friends if the leaders of “Karabakh” are not freed. There were of course helped in this by other forces.

The meetings in Stepanakert were creating a particular psychology among the people. The government was losing control of socio-political processes in the regions and the Communist Party was losing its prestige. Khrushchev’s promises, *Communism will be built in the USSR in 1988* and Gorbachev’s words, *Every Soviet family will be provided with a house in 2000*, were just so much hot air. People did not believe in the communists any longer. The ideas of the propagandists were not accepted either and people began to believe more in the populist speeches made by extremist groups. That’s why the Armenian nationalists, who thought it necessary to establish the “Krunk” society in the Nagorno-Karabakh

Autonomous Region, started to instil ideas and thoughts about creating a “Great Armenia” into the minds of their compatriots.

Nagorno-Karabakh was not enough for “Krunk”. They issued unjustified statements to stir up the relations between the two nationalities. In February 1988 “Krunk” issued a declaration to the legislative bodies of the USA, France, Russia, Netherlands, Germany and other countries, to international organizations, the UN and the global mass media.

We present this declaration in its entirety:

УЛЬТИМАТУМ

Требуем немедленно освободить лидеров комитета «Карябах» и всех политзаключенных, арестованных в эти дни. Даем на размышления 24 часа. В противном случае переходим к массовому террору. Время и место действия не указываем. У нас на вооружении имеются «стингеры», доставленные нашими друзьями.

Начало ультиматума 22 декабря 1988 года в 21.00 местного времени.

**A DECLARATION
ON ANNEXING NAKHCHIVAN, KIROVABAD (GANJA),
SHAUMYAN, KHANLAR, DASHKESEN AND
NAGORNO-KARABAKH TO
THE ARMENIAN SSR**

Armenian people have fought for their independence for centuries. Three million Armenians were killed and thousands scattered around the world in 1915. The Armenian people greeted the October Revolution with good spirit. The revival of Soviet Armenia gave great hope to the Armenians of the world. The Armenians who had scattered around the world started to return to Soviet Armenia.

For reasons unknown to us the territories of Karabakh, Kirovabad (Ganja), Khanlar, Nakhchivan and Shamkir were taken from Armenia and given to Azerbaijan. The Armenian people once more faced misfortune. Armenians who lived in Azerbaijan have been deprived of all facilities. They were forbidden to speak their language and it is impossible to come across the Armenian language on TV, radio or cinema.

Armenians have been placed at the whim of fate in Azerbaijan. There are terrible roads, a lack of water, unemployment and almost no higher educational institutions in the regions and settlement that they live in. A few years earlier a Pedagogical Institute was opened in Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh. After graduation Armenian students who studied in Azerbaijan cannot get any appointment in their motherland. Thus they are moved away from Nagorno-Karabakh. That's why our villages and settlements remain empty and our older generation is forced to live without protection. There are people in Azerbaijan who think that we are conducting a chauvinist policy. Do you really think that the desire to join the lands that historically belonged to Armenia to recent Armenia springs from nationalism? We have to strictly obey all rules and work out our destiny for ourselves. Do you think our rights should be denied? How long are we supposed to feel like visitors in the lands of Azerbaijan? Why have they still not told people the truth?

Our country is undergoing reconstruction. This is a very responsible period. The demands raised by the people of Armenia from Azerbaijan during the era of 'glasnost' must be resolute.

We, the Armenian community living in Azerbaijan demand that Nagorno-Karabakh, Kirovabad (Ganja), Shaumyan, Khanlar, Shamkir and Dashkesenbe given to Armenia and expect help from the international community in this issue. Any decision against us will be considered unfair and illegal. We believe that foreign countries will support us in this issue.

“KrunK”, 22.02.1988

Armenian chauvinists wanted to draw attention away from the main issue, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, by lodging territorial claims on different regions of Azerbaijan. This move was to a script prepared by the Armenian intelligence agencies and the Dashnaksutyun Party. But the international community understood that it consisted of lies and slander. Despite this we need to mention one fact, that this is not simply an issue for today. Let us return to the history:

The 18 May 1919 issue of the Azerbaijan newspaper printed the following:

“The Dashnaksutyun Party newspaper ‘Coqovurdi Dzain’, published in Yerevan, which had adopted the slogan ‘Workers of the World Unite!’ describes the borders of Armenia. This party that was believed to be internationalist, adds these territories to its own by stating that most of the people there are Armenians. Thus, it defines the borders of Armenia in the Caucasus to include:

The whole of Irevan province

All regions of Kars

The following regions of Tbilisi province:

Half of Akhalkalaki

Part of Borjomi

and North-west Borchali

Part of Ganja province

South Qazakh

All Shusha

Part of Jabrail

All Zangazur

Nakhchivan”

As you can see from the list, these lands have always been an integral part of Azerbaijan. It is important that Armenians, the forces that favour them and, primarily, historians know this. If we look back we will see that the situation in Irevan was not very good in 1918-1920. Armenians were carrying out ever more violent actions by the day. Villages were destroyed, houses were robbed and civilians were killed. These bandit groups were spreading everywhere robbing and breaking laws. In those days Muslims outnumbered Armenians in Irevan. But as a result of the lack of any help from the centre, armed Dashnak groups were creating conflicts and shedding blood. A number of Armenian historians have tried to prove to the world that the Irevan khanate belongs historically to Armenia.

After Tsarist Russia fell in 1917, the Bolsheviks came to power. As a result of Lenin and Stalin's national policy, the territories of Irevan were taken from Azerbaijan and given to the Armenians; the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed. Armenian politicians still claim that the Irevan khanliq historically belongs to them. If this is the truth then why have Azerbaijanis been in power in the Irevan khanliq for centuries? The facts below prove this once more:

We present below khans who were in power from 1390 till 1828 according to a list compiled by the priest Hovanes Shatahuna:

- a. Amir Sad (1390-1410)*
- b. Pir Huseyn. Son of Amir Sad (1410-1420)*
- c. Pir Yagub. Son of Pir Huseyn (1420)*
- d. Abdul. Son of Pir Huseyn (1430s)*
- e. Uzun Hasan (1471)*
- f. Yagubbey, the vizier of Jahan shah (1440s)*
- g. Hasanbey Qaraqoyunlu (1460s)*
- h. Hasanbey. Grandson of Bayandur (1475s)*
- i. Div Sultan Rumlu (1515s)*
- j. Huseynkhan Sultan (1550s)*
- k. Shahqulu Sultan Ustajli (1550-1575)*
- l. Lala Pasha-Qara Mustafa oghlu Sultan (1577)*
- m. Mahmudkhan Tokhmaq-Khudavend Shah period (1576-1583)*
- n. Farhad Pasha – Sultan Murad period (1583s)*
- o. Muhammad Sharif Pasha (1604)*
- p. Amirguna khan Gajar – Shah Abbas period (1605-1625)*

- q. Tahmazqulu khan. Son of Amirguna khan (1635)*
- r. Murtuza Pasha – Sultan Muradbey period (1635)*
- s. Kalbali khan (1636-1639)*
- t. Mammad khan ChaghataKotuk (1639-1648)*
- u. Khosrov khan (1648-1652)*
- v. Mammadqulu khan. Son of Lalabey (1652-1656)*
- w. Najafqulu khan (1656-1666)*
- x. Abbasqulu khan. Son of Amirguna khan (1656-1666)*
- y. Safiqulu khan (1666-1674)*
- z. Sarikhanbey (1674-1675)*
- aa. Safiqulu khan. Son of Tabrizli Rustam khan (1675-1679)*
- ab. Zal khan (1679-1688)*
- ac. Murtuzaqulu khan (1688-1691)*
- ad. Mammadqulu khan (1691-1694)*
- ae. Zohrab khan (1691)*
- af. Farzali khan (1694-1700)*
- ag. Zohrab khan (1700-1705)*
- ah. Abdul Muhammad khan (1705-1709)*
- ai. Mehrali khan (1709-1719)*
- aj. Allahqulu khan (1719-1725)*
- ak. Rajab pasha (1725-1728)*
- al. Ibrahim Pasha and Mustafa Pasha (1728-1734)*
- am. Ali Pasha (1734)*
- an. Haji Huseyn Pasha (1734)*
- ao. Mammadqulu khan (1735-1736)*
- ap. Pirmuhammad khan (1736)*
- aq. Khalil khan (1752-1755)*
- ar. Hasanali khan Gajar (1755-1762)*
- as. Huseynqulu khan (1762-1783)*
- at. Qulamali khan (1783-1784)*
- au. Muhammad khan (1784-1805)*
- av. Mehdiqulu khan (1805-1806)*
- aw. Muhammad khan Maraghali (1806-1807)*
- ax. Huseynqulu khan with his Gajar brother Hassan khan (1807-1828)*

NOTE:

Before we come to the main topic we would like to comment on the absurd and irresponsible words of Robert Kocharyan. We would applaud Kocharyan if what he said was his own thinking. However, this was not so, the views expressed were rather those of Russia that was standing behind him and detailing its policy. Otherwise Kocharyan would not have had the courage to give an interview to Azadliq radio.

If truth had triumphed and he had admitted the Republic of Armenia's adventurism concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, it would have meant his defeat. Just as the monkey puts its infant under its feet when drowning, Kocharyan and those who supported him sacrificed the people, put them beneath their feet and lost any respect for the nation with their repellent and dissembling policy serving their personal benefit by gaining and extending power.

Kocharyan often uses the word guarantee. What does he mean by this "guarantee"? Does he mean to deny the four existing UN resolutions? Does he mean to disregard the OSCE's peace agreement? Does he mean not to withdraw the Russian troops from Nagorno-Karabakh? Who do the Armenians receive this guarantee from and why are they so confident? Perhaps they are confident of the Russian army and troops?

If they were not confident of receiving material, technical and moral support from Russia, the Armenian lobby, the terrorist groups of the Dashnak Party and the Armenian Gregorian church, the Armenians would have left their motherland and fled long ago. In this case they would understand that they could not overcome the Azerbaijani army and would again spread throughout the world presenting themselves as a lonely, oppressed and

beaten nationality and trying to establish partnerships with other nationalities.

We have noted many times and repeat now that Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Robert Kocharyan and Serzh Sarksyan came to power through Nagorno-Karabakh and this power was established in blood. The death of thousands of both Azerbaijanis and Armenians is hangs on the names of these three men.

And the Khojaly massacre is the greatest tragedy that they have caused. Kocharyan and Sarksyan know very well that neither Azerbaijan nor other countries recognize Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent state. These are the ancient lands of Azerbaijan and Armenians were moved there from Turkey and Iran. Perhaps Kocharyan and Sarksyan also understand that. They also know well that the international community already recognises Azerbaijan's sovereignty; this has been recorded in the Council of Europe and the UN many times.

SUMMARY:

The disgusting policy pursued by the Armenian nationalists was clearly apparent in the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. The proposal to give Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia was raised and discussed at the highest level in the 20th century, but they could not achieve their goal. Historians including McCarthy, Georges Malevil, Lev Gumilev, Bosfort, Velichko and others have proven many times, with evidence, that Nagorno-Karabakh is the territory of Azerbaijan. But Armenian historians have always tried to distort the history of the people of Azerbaijan and to convince the world that Nagorno-Karabakh is Armenian land.

Judgements about the national issue concerning Azerbaijan were always unambiguous throughout the times of Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. The Armenian leadership who were confident of Gorbachev's support, made extensive use of the "Krunk" society in pursuit of their ugly

politics. They instigated meetings and strikes in Nagorno-Karabakh and the sending of telegrams to Gorbachev in Moscow demanding a resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem in their favour.

The people of Azerbaijan are peaceful and have always had as their political priority the aim of living in peace with neighbouring countries. But Armenians have always taken a very different stance and have tried to employ provocation to the maximum. They have been supported in this by various organizations, the mass media and corrupt writers and journalists.

“Krunk”, considered to be a chauvinist and nationalist society, was one such organisation. It had a very wide network in Sumqayit. Deputy chief engineer Osipov in the Azerboru factory, chief engineer Qalstyan in the synthetic rubber factory, department manager Babayan in the chemical industry union and Karlen Babayan and Avakyan in the medical department were among the active members of “Krunk” in Sumqayit. And the city’s military commissar Kalantarov, who was an ethnic Armenian, was their leader.

Emissaries from both Yerevan and Stepanakert went to the people we have mentioned, had confidential meetings and conveyed instructions. Thus many witnesses who were questioned during the investigations of the USSR Chief Prosecutor’s Office and the Chief Prosecutor’s Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan indicated that they had heard about the “Krunk” society in the plants and organizations where they worked, but they had never given it much importance. Following the Sumqayit events they had witnessed, “Krunk’s” chauvinist policy was clear to them.

Further, we would like to conclude our thoughts with the statements of a few Armenians from Sumqayit, who opposed their compatriots causing conflict and betrayed the friendship between the two nationalities, as well as “Krunk’s” unjustified claims.

A. Akopyan, employee of the organic synthesis factory industrial union, war veteran:

I have difficult expressing my concerns when I heard about events in Nagorno-Karabakh. It has been more than thirty years since I have linked my fate to Sumqayit and the staff of chemists. There have never been

ethnic differences between us. There was just an honest and conscientious person, a soviet citizen taking care of his work team, organization and city. I remember my wartime youth and the dark days of war very well. The home front had sent warm clothes and socks to the soldiers. I got a pair of those socks too. It had the following in Azerbaijani on it: 'Come back safe and sound!' These words woven by the hands of some Azerbaijani lady seemed to save me from the enemy's bullets. The lady who wove these socks did not know who they were going to be given to. She knew only that she was sending them to a Soviet soldier. I still keep those socks as a fondest memory. How can one forget such a present, the feelings from a mother's heart? I suppose those who believed in the politics of a group of chauvinists in Karabakh must be awake now. Nobody has benefitted from the war. The real criminals behind the Sumqayit incidents will be arrested and they will be forced to answer before the people.

R. Arutunyan, worker at the Aluminum factory

I am from the village of Chardakhli in Shamkhor region. The friendly international relations in that village are very well known. I have seen Armenians and Azeri people share their joy and grief since my childhood. The organization I work for is the same. Even though we represent different ethnic groups, we have always been very friendly towards each other. We participate in each other's good and bad days. What happened in Nagorno-Karabakh lately has worried both Azerbaijanis and the people of other nationalities to the same degree. Those who called themselves the 'friends of the nation' are in fact the enemies of both their own and other nationalities. The echo of the Nagorno-Karabakh events reached Sumqayit and blood was shed as a result. I wonder if the people who did this render an account before their conscience.

(E. Mammadov, *The Night of 28 to 29*, page 27)

V. Danielyan, secretary of the party bureau of the Household Chemical Industry Union

I would like to raise one fact. Most of the staff in leading positions in our organization are of different nationalities. This fact proves our internationalism. Even though the Armenian chauvinists living in Nagorno-

Karabakh have made territorial claims, the state borders of Azerbaijan are regulated by the constitution and nobody can change them now.

The people of Azerbaijan have been peace loving for centuries and have never made territorial claims on the lands of other nations. We have one land and one motherland and that is Azerbaijan. Nobody has the right to split and invade the lands of Azerbaijan. Most of the politicians, journalists and political scientists think this way.

(Socialist Sumqayit newspaper, March 1988)

“32 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN SUMQAYIT. 94 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND ONE PERSON HAS BEEN SENTENCED TO DEATH. UP TO 100 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED IN THE QUQARK AND MASIS REGIONS OF ARMENIA. THE ARMENIAN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES HAVE SUSPECTED JUST FOUR PEOPLE AND NO MEASURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN AGAINST THE CRIMINALS”.



(Ismat Qayibov, former Chief Prosecutor of the Republic of Azerbaijan)

Almost from the day the Armenia-Azerbaijan war started in 1988, no Azerbaijanis have been left in Armenia. Most of them have been expelled and have resettled in different regions of Azerbaijan. A number of Azerbaijanis have faced pressure and torture, and some have been killed in Armenia. The former Chief Prosecutor of Azerbaijan said in an interview (*Echo of Sumqayit*, documentary, 1991) that about 100 people had been killed in Quqark and Masis alone. 32 people were killed in Sumqayit. More than one thousand people have been questioned.

94 people have been arrested and one person has been sentenced to death.

And the law enforcement agencies of Armenia arrested just four people for the mass killing of those Azerbaijanis. What law can approve

of that? What does it mean? This proves once again that Armenians don't hesitate to indulge in criminal activity with Moscow's support.

A nation that demonstrates such savagery and barbarism tells the world's media that no Armenians live in Azerbaijan anymore and that they have all been banished. With one fact we can expose the lies and slanders of Armenian nationalist and chauvinist propaganda. There are currently more than 30,000 Armenians in Azerbaijan and their rights are protected like those of other nationalities.

There is an Armenian population in Sumqayit too. The evidence given by Armenians living in Sumqayit suffices to prove this to Armenian nationalists and their patrons abroad.

**THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN****26 March 2010****No 60206****Baku****Witness interview
PROTOCOL**

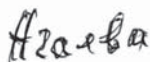
Interview started: 10:30

Interview ended: 13:20

Member of the Chief Prosecutor's Investigation Group of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Justice Colonel **Sardar Murtuz oghlu Jarchiyev** has questioned **Lyudmila Arshakovna Aghayeva** as a witness under articles 227 and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

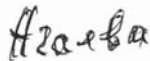
1. Last name, name, patronymic: Aghayeva Lyudmila Arshakovna
2. Day, month and year of birth: 25.07.1949
3. Place of birth: Baku, Republic of Azerbaijan
4. Citizenship: citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan
5. Education: Bachelor's degree
6. Work, employment and position: housewife
7. Marital status: married
8. Passport or identification card: SV AZE 05577821
SSPI, 12.05.06
9. Former convictions: none
10. State awards: none

Signature:



I, Lyudmila Arshakovna Aghayeva, wish to state to the investigation based on the questions I have been asked that I was born in Baku in 1949. I am an ethnic Armenian. I have lived in Sumqayit since 1975. I have worked as a laboratory assistant at the Neftkimyaavtomat scientific-research institute. I married in Sumqayit. My husband was Azerbaijani and died in 2007. I have never faced any pressure from Azerbaijanis and our relations have been honest. I have two children. After the incidents I found that most Armenians living in Sumqayit were members of the “Krunk” society. Those who were not members of that society suffered during the incidents. I have no doubt that this incident was instigated by the Armenian leaders and the Armenian community abroad.

Witness



Aghayeva L. A.

**THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN****24 June 2010****No 60206****Baku****Witness interview
PROTOCOL**

Interview started: 10:15

Interview ended: 12:20

Member of the Chief Prosecutor's Investigation Group of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Justice Colonel **Sardar Murtuz oghlu Jarchiyev** has questioned **Firuza Ashatovna Paranyan** as a witness under articles 227 and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

1. Last name, name, patronymic: Paranyan Firuza Ashatovna
2. Day, month and year of birth: 08.01.1959
3. Place of birth: Goranboy, Republic of Azerbaijan
4. Citizenship: citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan
5. Education: secondary
6. Work, employment and position: cleaning lady at Elmar-market, Sumqayit
7. Marital status: single
8. Passport or identification card: SV AZE 06893540
SSPI, 18.02.09
9. State awards: none

Signature:



I have lived in Sumqayit since 1962. I was working at the Superphosphate factory in the 1980s. We had a very friendly and hard-working staff. Russians, Armenians and Ukrainians worked there together with Azerbaijanis. We lived like one family. I was at work on 28-29 February. Later I found out that several people had been killed in Sumqayit. The leader of the incidents was Edik Griqoryan and he had killed several Armenians. Later I thought a lot about why some wealthy people had withdrawn their money from the saving banks and fled from Sumqayit before the incident. It became clear later that they were aware of the incidents that would happen in Sumqayit. Who were the victims? Those whose houses were robbed and were killed were people who were not members of the “Krunk” society in Nagorno-Karabakh. I continue to live in Sumqayit. I have not faced any pressure or disrespect. This is my home city.

Witness



Paranyan V. A.

**THE CHIEF PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN****23 June 2010****No 60206****Baku****Witness interview
PROTOCOL**

Interview started: 11:00

Interview ended: 13:10

Member of the Chief Prosecutor's Investigation Group of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Justice Colonel **Sardar Murtuz oghlu Jarchiyev** has questioned **Lidiya Stepanovna Quliyeva** as a witness under articles 227 and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

1. Last name, name, patronymic: Quliyeva Lidiya Stepanovna
2. Day, month and year of birth: 14.08.1948
3. Place of birth: Khachmaz, Republic of Azerbaijan
4. Citizenship: citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan
5. Education: Secondary
6. Work, employment and position: housewife
7. Marital status: married
8. Passport or identification card: SV AZE 05193885
SSPI, 01.02.2006
9. State awards: none

Signature:



I worked at the organic synthesis factory. This factory was called the 'international factory' in the city. I have never come across any conflicts or arguments. During the Sumqayit incidents of 1988 there were rumours in the city about how Armenian nationalists had killed their compatriots. Then there was thorough information about this in the press. The Armenians injured were those who refused to pay money to the "Krunk" society. No violence was committed against me. On the contrary, I was treated the same as always.

Witness:



Quliyeva L. S.

... The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh deteriorated gradually. Extremist forces began to organise mass meetings in Stepanakert. They were inciting people to radical action and were screaming *Death to Azerbaijanis, Muslims must be killed* or *Death to Turks*. But no one was trying to calm them. Just the opposite: there were many forces who were stirring them up.

A number of Armenian writers, poets, political scientists and historians started to slander the people of Azerbaijan in false and libellous writings. Speaking out in the mass media published in Moscow, Ulubabyan, Aramyan, Nuykin, Staravoytova, Chernichenko, Afanasyev, Khanzadyan, Balayan, Kaputikyan and Alikhanyan-Bonner uttered nonsense about Azerbaijan and its peaceful people. The person who created such great opportunities for them to speak out was the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, member of the Politburo and the chief architect of Gorbachev's *perestroika* Alexander Yakovlev. The country's media were also concentrated in his hands. When Gorbachev gave him this authority Yakovlev changed the editors of the most prestigious magazines and newspapers and more nationalist and radical cadres took over. They were responsible for opening state archives

and using the confidential materials in there. The newspaper *Moskovskie novosti* and the magazine *Ogonek* were the most zealous.

Former chief of the USSR State Security Committee Vladimir Kryuchkov wrote in the article *Posol bedi* in the *Sovetskaya Rossiya* newspaper in 1993: *Alexander Yakovlev was the USSR Ambassador to Canada for many years. The American Central Intelligence Agency bribed him and used him to achieve the collapse of the USSR. After coming to his post in Moscow Yakovlev made extensive use of the mass media to incite ethnic conflicts. We should also note that he defended Armenia on all issues related to Nagorno-Karabakh.*

In early 1993, USSR Deputy Chief Prosecutor and former deputy of the Russian Federation State Duma Viktor Ilyukhin wrote in *Pravda*: *I did not name Alexander Yakovlev among the people I called. This was deliberate. This man has worked for American intelligence agencies for many years and had very important connections. According to some diplomats American and English state agencies believed that Yakovlev was the guarantor of Gorbachev's policy to bring down the USSR.*

Armenian politicians admit this. *Qolos Armenii* wrote: *We should not forget that the Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo A. Yakovlev and his colleagues around him have played a great role in our favour in stirring the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.* (Kseniya Myalo. *Rossiya I poslednie voyni XX veka*, 1989-2000).

THE ARMENIAN GREGORIAN CHURCH HAS BEGUN TO DEMAND THE ADDITION OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH TO THE TERRITORIES OF ARMENIA. THE ARMENIAN CLERGY HAVE STATED THAT IF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT SOLVE THIS PROBLEM IN FAVOUR OF THE ARMENIANS, THEY WILL TAKE MORE SEVERE MEASURES

(*Voice of America* radio station, Armenian editorial office)

The Armenian lobby abroad had become particularly wound up about the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. The *New York Times* wrote *the organiser of almost all meetings in the USA supporting the demands to give the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region to Armenia was the Armenian church*".

Besides "Krunk", the "Karabakh Committee" uses the Armenian Gregorian church in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The church tried nastier methods to support the taking of the Nagorno-Karabakh Region from Azerbaijan.

The Armenian Gregorian church was becoming increasingly active. Let us examine the propaganda issued by the church against Azerbaijan: according to a statement by the Armenian editorship of the *Voice of America* radio station, the Armenian Gregorian church had begun to lead the movement of the Armenian people and demand that Nagorno-Karabakh be added to Armenia using the slogan *glasnost*. **ARMENIAN RELIGIOUS FIGURES STATED THAT IF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, DID NOT SOLVE THIS PROBLEM IN THE ARMENIANS' FAVOUR, THEY WOULD TAKE MORE SEVERE MEASURES.**

Catholicos Vazgen I of the Armenian Gregorian church gave a speech on 25 February 1988 on Armenian state television and said: *I believe*

that joining Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia will be completely legal, constitutional and natural. Lately I have been getting a lot of letters from our church organizations abroad, they call on me, ask me to appeal to the Soviet government to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh issue according to the Constitution of the Soviet Union and the decision of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region People's Deputies Soviet. I have made use of these statements and sent a telegram to the honourable Mikhail Gorbachev requesting help to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem in favour of the Armenian people. I assure you that the Nagorno-Karabakh issue will be solved in Moscow according to the right of the USSR people to define their own fate. We have to be calm and wait for the end of the process with wit and self-control so that the problems will be resolved in our favour. Be confident that this is the will of Armenians abroad who also want to help us in every possible way towards a resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Otherwise we may lose. Be careful, follow my speech and paternal advice.

The *Communist* newspaper wrote in its issue of 25 November 1988: *The Armenian church skilfully directs and connects the work of its religious figures overseas, especially in the USA. They don't hide this and often summon their religious figures to solidarity with their compatriots and to protest the 'unfair solution' of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.*

Of course this is very funny nonsense. The Armenians' claims are as primitive and unjust as themselves. If they had permission they would say that they are the originators of the world's history, civilization, historical monuments and manuscripts. In some cases they do this. But the Armenians forget one thing - that throughout history they have been busier stealing than creating or building. Clean, conscientious hard work has always been difficult for them. They have always escaped this hard work. Instead, as I mentioned earlier, they are inclined to steal the wealth of others and make it their own. Instead of stealing the wealth of others it would be more reasonable to create something with their own hard work. At the same time it is not good to blame the Armenians for this. This is something characteristic of them or their national psychology.

Armenians forget one that they have historically been nomads. They have been provided with every facility in the lands they have settled. In the beginning they have been given cattle and rich lands. In return they have not got along with the locals, lived in harmony and peace, but have deceived everybody. One should not believe or trust them.

The German scientist Kolmer writes in his *Anadolu Sketches*: *Almost everybody in this province when interacting with the main mass of people learns to respect and love the Turks, to insult the Greeks and to look with hatred at the Armenians... one Greek can cheat two Jews and one Armenian can cheat two Greeks. If you have been cheated somewhere in Anadolu, this means that you have interacted with an Armenian. When I agree on something with Turks I don't necessarily have a written contract, because their promise is enough. With a Greek I sign written contracts, because this is what they deserve and it's also profitable. But I don't do any business with the Armenians even with a written contract, because their falsity and mischief can break even a written agreement.*

One can come across such examples in the books of the famous scientist-historian Lev Gumilev too.

Now let us turn to the propaganda of the Armenian Gregorian church against Azerbaijan. According to the statement of the Armenian editorship of the *Voice of America* radio station the Armenian Church has started to lead the movement of Armenian people using the slogan of *glasnost* and demand the addition of Nagorno-Karabakh to the territories of Armenia. The Armenian clergy have stated that if the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev does not solve this problem in favour of Armenians, they will take more severe measures.

According to Archbishop Mesrop, a meeting of Armenians on 13 March 1988 in New York was organised at the call of the higher administration of the Armenian Church. He said: *We need to show the world that the Armenian people are one and will achieve the realisation of their plan.*

The editorship of the *Voice of America* radio station stated on 1 September 1988 that the prestigious administration of the Armenian Church had sent a letter to Armenians living in Argentina. The letter included the following: *We would like to say in answer to your letter that the entire*

Armenian nation is in mourning. They have been deprived of their hope. But in any case God is great and truth will win sooner or later.

The *New York Times* wrote then the organizer of almost all the meetings in the USA supporting the claims to add Nagorno-Karabakh to the territories of Armenia is the Armenian Church. The Armenians abroad are in a good financial position and they have extensive relations with various religious organizations internationally.

Yes, this is how it happened. Mass meetings and strikes in Stepanakert and the first arms sent from Lebanon and Syria prove this. The killing of two young people in Askeran and the Sumqayit tragedy are also proof. With the help of their partners overseas the Armenians turned Nagorno-Karabakh into a global problem and made skilful use of their Sumqayit card.

Lispan Meysels, Deputy Editor-in-chief of the magazine “*Vohenpress*”, published in Austria, went to Yerevan and upon his return published a comprehensive article about his interview with a religious figure holding one of the highest positions in the Armenian Church in the 22nd issue of the magazine in 1988. The meeting was organised on the written recommendation of an Armenian bishop in Vienna, Professor Mesrop Krikoryan. This conversation convincingly describes the strategy and tactics of the Armenian clergy in the current conflict. The Austrian journalist was told: *The Armenian Church cannot officially comment on its position on the current conflict, but you can be sure that we feel sorry for our brothers. Below is an answer to the question: ‘If the Armenian Church does not announce its position and the Armenian government and Party does not move, who then will defend the rights of the Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh problem?’*

‘We are not alone. Our brothers abroad do not have any political limitations. They can demand that their governments defend our rightful position and of course this pressure will be effective after a while’.

SUMMARY, RESULT:

The Armenian Gregorian Church and Dashnak Party not only assert their territorial claims on Azerbaijan in order to form a ‘Great Armenia’. After all they need land. The *Azerbaijan* newspaper wrote on 27 July 1993: ***the Armenian community is going to organize an international Armenian***

cultural festival soon, in September, in Armavir city, Krasnodar province. Why not in Yerevan, but in the Russian city of Armavir, where only 7% of people are Armenian? The Atamans Council of Labinski region registered their discontent about this in the 10 July 1993 issue of the Slava Kubani newspaper. The article says the emissary from Armenia was trying to spread the idea of 'Great Armenia' among people from Kuban to the Don. They intend to make Armavir in the north their capital and prove that the other lands of Kuban belong to Armenia. This is unacceptable. We cannot have a second Karabakh in Kuban.

As Velichko writes, the Armenians wanted to extend their borders from Anatolia to Afghanistan and from the Arabian deserts to Voronezh. There is nothing strange in this. One can invade lands, drive out and expel the people. But a question arises: how are the Armenians going to use these lands? Of course the diaspora will not come, Armenians will not accept other nationalities and they would be a minority there. The Armenians' dreams cause their population to decline and disperse to different countries. This is the truth. At the moment *there are 700,000 Armenians in America and 300,000 in France. Los-Angeles has the largest Armenian population. The Armenian community there amounts to 250,000 people. Armenians call the city 'Los-Armenos'. The largest community in France is in Marseille*". (Zerkalo, 2006. No.29)

The Armenian Gregorian Church makes wide use of the Armenian terrorist organization *Asala*. A few Armenians who gather around the church have to prove that besides serving God primarily, they are also always prepared to use terror against their enemies. Besides the ornate organization of funerals of the dead, the church also gives its blessing by helping terrorists who are arrested and to any sabotage to those who are in freedom.

We should also note that the Armenian press in America, in both Armenian and English, openly writes about all the activities of Armenian terrorists and does not hold back in this. We have to say without exaggeration that as two organizations, the Armenian Gregorian Church and the Armenian mass media aim to form public opinion among the Armenian diaspora. 'All or nothing!' To this end the church does not censure acts of terror, on the contrary, it allows the execution of such acts.

THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA HAD DECEIVED ONE NATION AND BEGUN TO DEFEND ANOTHER WITHOUT EVEN LOOKING BACK. THIS WAS REAL BETRAYAL. EVERYTHING WAS GOING THE WAY THE LEADERS WANTED AND NOBODY WAS THINKING ABOUT AZERBAIJANIS.

(L. Borisov, Russian political scientist and columnist)

The ugly and adventurist policy of the Armenian intelligentsia has played a major role in the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. Silva Kaputikyan is an example. Mikhail Gorbachev invited Zori Balayan and Silva Kaputikyan to the Kremlin a few days before the Sumqayit incidents. What did that mean? To exchange thoughts about *perestroika* with the Armenian intelligentsia, or to support the Armenians on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue?

The day after a speech by Vazgen I Catholicos of the Armenian Gregorian Church in Yerevan, Silva Kaputikyan gave a speech on TV and said the following: *The day before yesterday Zori Balayan and I were at a reception by A. N. Yakovlev of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and yesterday at a reception by M. S. Gorbachev in Moscow. We told them that as a result of Stalin's nationalist politics at the beginning of the century (ie the 20th century - author) Nagorno-Karabakh was given to Azerbaijan. Now the mistake of history must be corrected. We told Gorbachev, to show that we support him, that the people of Nagorno-Karabakh like and support his policy of perestroika. The presence of his portraits in the squares during meetings comes from love for him. Gorbachev mentioned that a number of problems have accumulated in the country and there would soon be a plenary session of the Central Committee. He also noted that Nagorno-Karabakh would be under his constant control. We are thankful to him for the reception.*

Kaputikyan addressed her speech to the whole Armenian population and the youth and stated, *Qarabagh has historically belonged to Armenia. Our main purpose is not to unite these two lands, but to heal the wounds inflicted on us by history. Historical injustice must be rectified. Our people*

have faced great tragedies, but our people are wise. We must demonstrate our wisdom by supporting Gorbachev. Because perestroika and glasnost have many enemies, they can act on one front and ruin our plans. That's why we must help all we can and return our historical territories.

Azerbaijan responded unambiguously to this reception of the Armenian intelligentsia in the Kremlin by Gorbachev and Yakovlev. It was felt very clearly that Gorbachev inclined to the Armenians and they were very happy about that. They were thinking that if Gorbachev accepted the most prominent intelligentsia of Armenia it meant that there was hope of resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem in Armenian favour. Perhaps this was tactical on the part of Gorbachev and the 'liberal democrats' supporting him. After the Karabakh problem had reached deadlock and it was understood that the resolve of the Azerbaijani people would make it impossible to give the territories to Armenia, was this the point at which the Sumqayit script was put into action?

Further to all this, the Armenian intelligentsia was positive about a solution of the Karabakh problem, because they were confident of support from their partners in Moscow. Then events burst their banks and confronted the Armenian people and their leaders with a number of difficult problems to solve.

Yes, the flow of events proved that. It needs to be pointed out that the Armenian state never conducted an independent politics. They adopted the policy conducted by Echmiadzin as a political base and always moved according to that. Additionally, in all times they were used as a tool by Russia. Vladimir Stupishin («Moya missiya v Armenii», pp. 192-194) was writing in his book: **«It is not important for the Russian nation/people to know the history of the Armenian people. Russian people need to look carefully at their own history. Only then, they will raise to defend the Armenians. Since interests of both countries always overlapped. Depends a lot on the Russian stance on the Karabakh problem.»**

Armenians at all times lived under Russia's patronage. Russia had its own interests in protecting Armenia. Russian Imperialism since the times of the Peter the Great used the Armenian card to keep its influence in the Caucasus. Russian intellectuals were always more active on that matter. That very «patriotic» democrats bought by the Dashnak party and the

Armenian lobby were supporting Armenia and Armenian people and harshly criticizing Azerbaijan in the mass media.

The Dashnaks, Armenian lobby and Armenian authorities were expecting Gorbachev to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. But that was not so easy. There were two opinions in the Politburo of the Central Committee. While liberal-democrats were in favour of changing the borders, the conservatives were supporting the territorial integrity. They knew that in most cases (that's exact translation, I think it should be *otherwise*) the conflict would start amongs the nations getting bigger and becoming a fire. It would be much more difficult to stop it on a later stage.

That is exactly what happened. The Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict gradually moved from peaceful, political negotiations and switched to the war arena. The demonstrations would not calm down in Stepanakert. In their speeches in front of public Pogosyan, secretary of the Regional Party Committee, Zori Balayan, A. Manchurov, R. Dadamyan, Silva Kaputikyan were asking people not to step back. In the same period the demonstrations also started in the Azerbaijani regions of Karabakh. On 22nd February two Azerbaijani young people were killed in Askeran. Law enforcement organs and party leadership initially decided to stop any leakage of this information, because it could result in a big clash. However, it was impossible to hide that information. The person who informed the people about that case was Alexander Katusev, Deputy Prosecutor General of the USSR. Why did he do that? Did he plan to instigate and lead to the bloody events in Sumqayit in future? In any event his stance on the Nagorno-Karabakh case was very murky.

After the murder of the two Azerbaijani young men, the residents of Aghdam wanted to march to Stepanakert to take revenge. It was an omen of an arriving big tragedy. If it had been allowed to happen, it would have opened a possibility of a big bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh. However, the humanism of the Azerbaijani nation did not let it happen. The Deputy Chairman of the State Security Committee of the USSR, Bobkov wrote in his book «DTK and the Governance» that: «The altruistic action of Azerbaijanis stopped this human inflow. The respectable Azerbaijani lady, Socialist Labour Hero, Khuraman Abbasova with her courageous action stood in front of the youth taken by emotions. She threw on the floor her headscarf under the feet of the people marching towards Stepanakert.

According to the local traditions, the headscarf of a woman is sacred and it is not right to trample it and cross over it.

Then together with Abbasova we had a meeting with the marchers and came to decision that it is better not to instigate hostility between the nations».

Various mass media tools covered the courageous action by Khuraman Abbasova widely. On 8 March 1988 «The Socialist Sumqayit» newspaper published a letter from Nikolay Ambarsumyan, resident of House 4, Narimanov street, Sumqayit city. We print a shortened version of that letter below.

A LETTER TO

KHURAMAN ABBASOVA

«My dear sister, Khuraman! I was born in the Askeran region of Nagorno-Karabakh in 1933. My father went to war in 1941. My mother stayed alone with 4 children. May these days never come back. May our young people never experience those difficult moments. We were working despite being children. I saw with my own eyes the difficulties that our mothers, grandmothers went through. How friendly were Azerbaijanis and Armenians. They would share their last piece (of bread) with each other.

I have been living in Sumqayit for the last 37 years. All those years I worked in the tube-rolling factory of Azerbaijan. I have two sons. Both of them graduated from the Azerbaijan Polytechnic Institute named after Ch. Ildirim.

I have a reason to write all of this. The talks, rumours going around Nagorno-Karabakh lately are worrying me too. My dear sister, when I heard that you threw your headscarf under the feet of young people, like a mother calling them to friendship and fondness, tears appeared on my eyes. Let all mothers, brides admonish their children in this way. There should be no place for saboteurs amongst us. The ruffians, the ones who are longing for power cannot rule Asgeran, where I was born. History will erase them from its ranks».

The letter from Nikolay Ambarsumyan did not stay unanswered.

**Khuraman Abbasova addressed
him an open letter**

“Dear Nikolay Rubenovich, I couldn’t read your sincere letter without anxiety. Here is a proverb – the eyes won’t weep without heartburn. There was the heartburn of the real man, father and citizen in your letter. While reading your letter I was thinking about if only everybody could understand the reality, especially now when we need both to tell and to hear the truth.

Both of us are in the age that we have seen everything, all the faces of life, we can choose what is good and what is bad, which one is white and which one is black but the young people haven’t the practice like ours, they will gain wisdom and develop themselves hereinafter. To nurture them with the verdict of love is the duty of both parents and elders.

Yes, I stopped the irascible young people with my scarf. You are applauding me and the young people who bowed their heads in front of the scarf of a mother.

Karabakh has always been the best example of the nations’ friendship. Jafar Jabbarli describes the village Tugh in one of his well-known work and he hasn’t differed Armenians from the Azerbaijanis. Our nation has earned the qualities like the solidarity, similarity and kinship with the halal bread, music and inseparable traditions.

The fortune of Karabakh makes people to think and to trouble about it deeply. We can’t sacrifice it to the passions.

Now the duty of all the elders and young people is to operate cleverly and to downgrade to the impregnable fortress against the enemy’s provocations.

Sincerely, Khuraman Abbasova ”

I wonder whether the heartless Armenian nationalists read this letter written with the heart-pain? If they did then which result they brought out? The Armenians didn't need the words calling them to the peace. Their brains were dimmed with the nonsense phrases like "to slaughter Azeris", "we will never give up Karabakh". The territorial claim is in their blood. They just didn't consider one thing that it is impossible to wash or refine the blood with the occupation others' land with the slaughters on the contrary, the unfounded territorial claim and insidious policy poisons not only their bloods but also their brains.

Yes, there was not any claim of Azerbaijan against Armenia. However, the Armenian nationalists instead of reassuring the gap, returning the people to their places of work and extending the cooperation between the neighbouring states, they were not afraid of exacerbating the gap with the slandering our people. They began to drive Azerbaijanis out of Armenia. There were rallies of workers in Baku and Sumqayit. The main demands of these people were to reject the Armenians' claim and to prove the territorial integrity. Gorbachev sent the secretaries of the Central Committee, the members of the Political Bureau, Yakovlev to Yerevan, Demichev to Stepanakert and Razumovski to Baku. The aim was to find out public opinion of the both nations on Nagorno-Karabakh. They held meetings with the local activists, spent times between the people and exchanged views. The public opinion was against the Armenia. The Armenians and the forces supporting them didn't agreed with this. Regardless of the cost they wanted to own Nagorno-Karabakh but the Azerbaijan people citing the inviolability of the lands responded "No" to the delegate came from Moscow.

On 25 February Gorbachev appealed to the Azerbaijani and Armenian people but without result. The conflict between the two nations was growing day by day. A group of saboteur, specially trained in foreign countries and Armenia appeared in Sumqayit. They were meeting with the members of the society of "Krunk" trying to be close to them they provided information on the tragedy and explained them the position that they should take in the extreme situation.

**GENERAL PROSECUTOR OFFICE OF
AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC****WITNESS INTERROGATION PROTOCOL****01.07.210 matter N60206 Sumqayit city**

Interview began: 11-10

Interview ended: 12-55

Mammadov Tavakkul Yaqub oghlu, citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born in 1940, Azerbaijani, with higher education, married, the Head of the Housing and Communal Services of Sumqayit, former Chairman of the Executive Committee of Soviet of Peoples Deputies of Sumqayit in 1988 year was interviewed under articles 85, 95, 227, 230 of the Criminal Code by the **Sardar Shamsiyev**, investigator for especially important cases of the Serious Crimes Investigation Department of the General Prosecutor Office of Azerbaijan Republic.

My response to the question would be the following.

“It was 26 February 1988. About half past four o’clock. Malak Bayramova, the Second Secretary of the Party Committee of the Sumqayit city approached to me with the regard that someone called and informed her that the refugees fled Armenia wanted to gather in the park named Nasimi for the rally. We walked around the park but there were no one. We returned back at half past five. The people were gathered in front of the Party Committee. That wasn’t look like rally. A few of the people made some noise and left. All these things created an unpleasant mood inside me. Was it the sign of the upcoming tragedy? No! I can’t believe that this tragedy can be happen. The February events were unexpected for the people of Sumqayit. More than 20 years left since that time. I have come to the conclusion that all these Sumqayit incidents were prepared a few years before ”

I had no information that unrest was going to start very soon. Bayramov did not have such information either. Maybe the Azerbaijan Communist

Party Central Committee had such information? I do not know. All I know is that **Sumqayıt events could not happen without approval of Moscow. Who were the powers interested in that? The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Committee for State Security? The USSR Internal Affairs Ministry? The Armenian lobby? Armenians themselves gave a good answer to that question. In his interview to the «Moskovskie novosti» newspaper the Armenian writer-publisist, Verdlinyan said that the key of the Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumqayıt should be looked for amongst the walls of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.**

I would like to touch upon one fact. A lot has been written about that. In his speeches Mikhail Gorbachev stated that the army was late for Sumqayıt for a couple of hours. That was a total lie. The Soviet troops were already in Sumqayıt. Later on the internal troops were brought in to the city too. It was possible to avert the events. These violence, pillage, death and outrage would not have been the case. The troops however took the waiting position. Since Muslimzada, the first secretary of Sumqayıt city Party Committee was on holidays, I was in charge of the governance of the city. The mood started to change in the city. Refugees from Armenia started to flow to city. I started to sense that the tragedy is coming closer. When I told General Kraev that it is time to avert the unrest (turmoil?), his response was that «there is still time, we are waiting for an order». I believed that the order will come very soon. However I was mistaken. Only after 32 people were killed had General Kraev been appointed the warden of the city.

The Chief Prosecutor's Office of the USSR started investigations in Sumqayıt. We created the necessary conditions for it. Only later it became known that Azerbaijani investigators had been removed from the case. The investigation process was totally under Moscow's control. They were compiling the instructions given by Filipp Bobkov, the deputy chairman of the Committee for State Security (KGB) of the USSR and A.F.Katusev, Deputy Prosecutor General of the USSR.

One day I was invited to the prosecutor's office by a summons. They showed me one album. There were approximately 100 photos. I did not recognize anyone. I called F. Taghiyev, who was working in the Executive Committee as mu deputy. As he has been living in Sumqayıt

for a long time and knew people well we invited him to come. After going through the pictures Taghiyev surprised that there is no even a single person from Sumqayit, otherwise he would have recognised at least a couple of people. Hence they must have been the hired criminals groups arranged by the Armenian nationalists and intelligence services and by using them the blood was shed in Sumqayit. Yes, the Sumqayit events were realised by the KGB of the USSR and the Armenian terrorists. In order to erase the traces photos were sent to Moscow, to KGB by Bobkov's order.

Witness



Mammadov T.Y.

**GENERAL PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN****WITNESS INTERVIEW PROTOCOL**

April 20, 2011 №20206 Baku

Interview began: 16.50

Interview ended: 18.25.

Sapharova Afaq Bashir gizi, citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan, born 15 August 1955, in Baku, Azerbaijanian, high educated, married, the actress in Azerbaijan State Musical Drama Theatre, resident of Baku was interrogated as a witness by **Anvar Hamidov**, Chief Legal Adviser and Main Investigator on especially important issues, Department of Investigation on Dead Crime, General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan observing the Articles 85, 95, 227 and 230, the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

I say the following in answer to the given questions

I remember very well the events happened in Sumqayit in 1988, 27-29 February. Because at that time I was working at Sumqayit State Drama Theatre. It is impossible to forget those blood days. During the past years, when remembering those bitter recollections each of us feels regret.

Gorbachev came on power in 1985. He nominated the ideas of *perestroika*, *glasnost*, and a new mentality. There were some powers abused these ideas for their own purpose and they aimed to change the borderlines of USSR map. The nationalist Armenians who formed "The State of Armenia" within historically Azerbaijani territories, and their supports abroad began to claim lands against Azerbaijan. Their attitude towards Azerbaijanis living in Armenia was changed and they began to banish them from their home. As a witness of the events I say that Armenians committed crime against their own cognates on February 27-29 blaming Azerbaijanis as a guilty.

An activity of the society named “KrunK” was revealed in Sumqayit. The participation of extremist groups from Yerevan in violations was identified. Of course they did all those with the support of Moscow. During those tragic days we saw a big group of specially trained people in black raincoats with unknown identity. Sumqayit is not so big city. Here people know one-another. If they were local we should have recognized them. But they were not from Sumqayit. They were members of the extremist group from Yerevan. At that time J. Muslumzadeh, First Secretary, City Party Committee was on holiday. Many people gathered in front of the building of City Party Committee. It was approximately 19.30. Zamina Hasanova, Hero of Socialist Labour; Eldar Mammadov, First Secretary, City Comsomol Committee; Melek Bayramova, Second Secretary, City Party Committee; Tavakkul Mammadov, Chair of Executive Committee made speech before the people in the meeting and after that the people went their home. When the people were going the men in black raincoats became angry and were trying to invite the people to meeting again. At that time there was a man who was taking the photos of the meeting from the roof of the Samad Vurgun Cultural Palace. He was unmasked. He had black wear, too.

As the events became strained Azerbaijanis saw that there were many Armenians dead and they began to hide Armenians from those criminals. Many of us risked our own lives hiding those Armenians in our homes. I had a flat with one room. Personally I gave shelter for 11 Armenians in my flat. The criminals were told that I hid the Armenians at my home. First I tried to pursue them to return back from the front of the entrance to the building, some of them believed me, and they attacked another building. Several minutes later there was a knock at our door. My husband opened the door. There were 2 or 3 young men in black raincoat in front of the door and there were teenagers (15-16 aged children) behind them. I thought, as soon as the door opens they will know me and say “Afag, Afag”. But I didn’t hear it from the men in black raincoats. I immediately realized that they are not from Sumqayit. But the teenagers behind, they all began to call out “Afag, Afag”. The men in black raincoats looked at each other in surprise, then they turned and went away.

And I want to mention one thing more. There were many Armenians working in the same theatre with me. There was an Armenian named Yura

working as a tailor. He had a picture of Catholicos Vazgen, Armenian Gregorian Church, on the wall of his room. We never paid any attention to it. And one day another Armenian tailor named Garik said to me that “Afag, Nagorno-Karabakh will be ours soon and I will invite you there as a guest”. I accepted his words as a joke. Then Garik and the other Armenians took their money from the bank and left Sumqayit. It means that they knew beforehand that there will be violations in Sumqayit.

Moscow was supposed to take Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and give it to Armenia. But it didn't work. It is already 25 years passed. Azerbaijan increasingly develops, internationally known and has a great influence. And Armenia's insidious and crafty policy is and will be revealed.

The witness:



Afaq Sapharova

**GENERAL PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

WITNESS INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

May 20, 2010 №60206 Sumqayit

Interview began: 12.30

Interview ended: 13.25.

Tagiyev Mayil Bagi oghlu, the citizen of the Republic of Azerbaijan, born 5 December 1948, in the village Chanagbulag, Yardimli, Azerbaijanian, high education, married, Chief Physician in Sumqayit Mental Nervous Dispensary, resident of Sumqayit was interrogated as a witness by **Sardar Shamsiyev**, Legal Adviser and Investigator on especially important issues, Department of Investigation on Dead Crime, General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Azerbaijan observing the Articles 85, 95, 227 and 230, the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

I was told about responsibility from avoiding giving testimony and giving false testimony deliberately observing the Articles 297 and 298, the Criminal Code of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

I want to tell the below as an answer to the questions:

“I remember the incidents that took place in the city of Sumqayit on 27-29 February 1988 well enough. As a human, as a citizen and as an eye-witness of the incidents, I have my personal views on them. As a person interested in press and mass media a lot is known on the attitude of the Armenianns, Europeans and Russians to these incidents. Well, the fact that a number of Armenians died and were injured gives such a formal grounds to the Armenians at the first glance, to blame Azerbaijanis of the death of Armenians. But the developments of that period and afterwards show that it was a specially prepared scenario where Armenians were presented as positive heroes, a humble and oppressed nation, but Azerbaijanis were

brutal, bloodthirsty nation with hostility to Armenians, and it had to be perceived this way. In this sense, there were several reasons for Sumqayit to have been chosen to be the target of the site of the incidents. First of all, Armenians knew that the Azerbaijanis who had been driven out or moved from Armenia resided in Sumqayit or near it. They also knew that most of these people would live in slums with almost no conditions and would have hard work. It was also an undeniable fact that Armenians who lived in this city had better living conditions and had well-earned jobs and high positions. Representatives of more than 80 nations lived here. Although most of the people involved in construction of this city from the beginning were prisoners, afterwards this city turned into the city of youth and friendship. Sometimes it was also called as “Komsomolsk in the Caspian Sea”. Because of this Sumqayit was considered to be the most convenient city to realise Armenian plans. At the root of the incidents managed from Armenia there was the issue that it was easy to find people with different beliefs among these young people who were the representatives of different nations. It was known afterwards that the Armenian emissars had established contacts with the Armenians of extremist views and with patchy history, and through them distributed free alcoholic drinks, wines that affected minds, as well as, drugs among the youth of Sumqayit and played with their national feelings. At the same time, these youth were provided with 108 real facts with more exaggeration that Azerbaijanis were killed, injured and driven out of Armenia. As such, they were invited to revenge Armenians and and were taken to the flats of the Armenians who did not accept Armenian separatists’ ideas, were loyal to Azerbaijanis to plunder and commit bloody tragedies. In this way, the Armenians managed “to kill not only two, but three birds with one stone”. They punished or threatened the Armenians that did not serve or did not want to “the Armenian ideas” and stroke a blow on Azerbaijan’s achievements, succeeded to lie the world community.

Although the Armenian propaganda with foaming mouth tried to create “a barbarian Azerbaijani” fright right after the riots and pogrom lots of participants of the rally, as well as, robbers were detained by the law enforcement bodies and were involved in investigation. Although strange, for some reasons origins of the detainees were sorted out, if

the detainee was of an Armenian, Georgian or Russian origin, they would be released. But the alibi of the Azerbaijanis was checked and they would be arrested. That is, the investigation would unilaterally consider the Azerbaijanis as a guilty side.

Thanks to the Azerbaijanis living in Sumqayit even greater tragedies that could happen were prevented. Sometimes at the expenses of their lives, endangering themselves, the Azerbaijanis saved the lives of Armenians hiding them in their own flats, driving them out of town by their privated cars.

Some of the Armenians living in Sumqayit supported the idea of taking Karabagh from Azerbaijan and giving it to Armenia. Signatures and money was collected with this aim, anti-Azerbaijani propaganda was carried out. Organisation of the crimes, in general, organisation and organisers of Sumqayit incidents, paralisation of the socio-political life of Azerbaijan by Armenian separatists, the reasons and condition of these incidents were not carried out through investigation. Although it seemed as an ordinary thing at the beginning, even the Armenians, with a different aim, though, mentioned that the result that the official investigation came to on the incidents committed by a group of hooligans was not true.

I think through admitting the Armenians unconditionally as “victims” and Azerbaijanis as a “guilty” side, the investigaion and the trial carried out then served in their benefit. And I think, Armenians and their supporters in Moscow as organisers were deliberately kept beyond attention.

I want to tell a story that took place at the eve of Sumqayit incidents. I was on leave in Sochi in early February. I met a woman by name Anaida Martirosyan that I knew as a correspondent of the newspaper “Kommunist Sumqaita” (“Communist of Sumqait”) published in Russian. I told her that I would be back on 10 February and if she wanted we could go back together. Anaida told me that she did not want to go back to Sumqayit and that she might be back by mid-March. I was surprised how come her leave could last that long.

She told me that her leave was not that long, but she knew that soon there would be major adverse events in Sumqayit. And because of that she did not want to be in Sumqait. I did not pay much attention to her words. But when the incidents started, I remembered Anaida's words and understood that she was aware that Armenians would commit provocation in Sumqait.

Being a doctor, I knew lots of Armenians in Sumqait. On the days of the incident I saw that those who came or were brought for medical care were the poorest and the quietest of the Armenians. There was not a single Armenian who was rich or in high position among those who were injured. From my the then relations with the Armenians I knew that the emissar of the organisation of "Krunk" in Sumqait was an Armenian colonel with last name Kalantarov who had been transferred to Sumqait from Karabagh as a military commissar. He had the list of all Armenians here and had their addresses. He escaped during the incidents, as if he had changed his job.

It is this much that I remember so far"

Witness



(Mayil Tagiyev)

**AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC
PROSECUTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE**

**THE PROTOCOL
OF THE WITNESS INTERVIEW**

May 20, 2010. Case # 60206 the city of Sumqayit

Interview started at 14:45

Interview ended at 16:25

Khanjanov Huseynaga Agayar oghlu

Citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born on December 5, 1949, in the Chol Bashdali village of the region of Sabirabad, Azerbaijan, has higher education, arrived, retired, resides at the address 32, 6th micro-district, apt 39, city of Sumqayit, had been interrogated as a witness by the Investigator on Specially Important Issues of the Investigation Department on Grave Crimes of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, the Counselor of Justice **Sardar Shamsiyev** in accordance with articles 85, 95, 227, and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

I have been informed about the responsibility for refusing to give a testimony and responsibility for deliberately providing false testimony in accordance with article 297 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Witness



(Huseynaga Khanjanov)

I state the following as the answer to the questions given to me

“In February 1988, during the events that took place in Sumqayit, I worked at the position of the Secretary of the Party Committee at the Department of Internal Affairs. As I had a responsible position, I received information about the events that took place in Sumqayit via our own channels and we could see the naked truth. At that time, the secret activity of a range of nationalist and extremist groups inspired by such populist slogans of Mikhail Gorbachev who was the head of the Soviet leadership, like “perestroika”, “glasnost”, and “new political thinking” had been disclosed and they began acting openly. The Armenian nationalists, intellectuals began sending appeals to Moscow, Baku, and Yeevan, to the Supreme Soviets of all the allied republics of the USSR stating that Nagorno-Karabakh should be taken from Azerbaijan and transferred to Armenia. And Moscow was silent. However, the people of Azerbaijan expressed their resolute opinion: the land is untouchable and Nagorno-Karabakh may never be a part of Armenia. The Center, planned the events on Sumqayit in advance. There is no doubt that the SSC, leadership of Armenia, Dashnak party, and the society “KrunK” had been involved in that issue.

The instruction was provided to the law enforcement bodies from Moscow that no action should be taken until the events will reach its culmination point. Therefore, the planned scenario took place in Sumqayit. The situation was worsening. The first confrontations had been registered on 27 February. And on 28th, 12 people had already been murdered in the city. At that time, the Chief of the Department of Internal Affairs police Colonel Khanlar Jafarov, with the purpose of controlling the situation asked General Krayev commissioned to the city to order entry of the troops stationed at “Nasosni” (present H.Z. Tagiyev settlement) to Sumqayit. However, General Krayev got angry with him and said that, “You cannot even cope with a few hooligans” and refused to help us. For that reason, number of losses increased, as if the organizers were interested in increased number of people who died in Sumqayit. The next day, 20 people more had been murdered. From those killed, 26 were Armenians and 6 Azerbaijanis.

Only after that, the military troops entered the city and the curfew had been applied. I would like to mention that majority of the soldiers of the troops of the Soviet Army were Armenians. The soldiers rudely approached Azerbaijanis and arrested innocent people, they applied physical violence against them.

The issue is that, on 27 February, although the Prosecutor of the city Ismat Gaibov already started the criminal case regarding the criminal facts that took place, already 4 day later, the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office sent from Moscow, took the case from him. **The representatives of the law enforcement bodies of Sumqayit and in general of Azerbaijan, had been debarred from the investigative operation activities. In such a situation, when Armenians had been unconditionally accepted as a victim side in advance, all the Armenians who were arrested had been released as a people who were arrested mistakenly. Forty seven people of Armenian nation who were organizers, extremists, and executors (there were representatives of the special service bodies among them as well) had been released by the Armenian investigators who came from Russia immediately after the riots and they left Azerbaijan with the order from the high circles very soon. Gorbachev was not interested in logical continuation of the investigation that took place in Sumqayit and he had information about both the scenario in Sumqayit and in Nagorno-Karabakh.**

Exposure of Eduard Grigoryan that was arrested by the militants was possible not because of the investigation, but, because Mejlumyan sisters recognized him as a person who acted violently towards them.

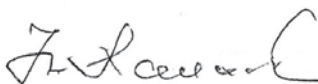
I would like to mention also that, at that time, the chauvinist and cruel officials of the appropriate bodies of USSR that had anti-Azerbaijan position had been sent here. At any step they arbitrarily called Azerbaijanis as "savages", "burglars", and etc., and incited them, they threatened that they "will restore the Soviet power here". They asked questions to us and tried to confuse us. I personally was interrogated by the Chief Investigator of the USSR SSC, Colonel Zubtsev. For seventeen days, he required me to write an explanation. From the logic of his questions I understood that he was not so much interested in those who organized this bloody diversion, but more in the discrediting evidences of the personal lives and intimate relationships of the leaders of the local party organization and the bodies, economic and production areas. Apparently, he needed all these to take certain measures regarding the Azerbaijani leaders, to sully their reputation and arrest them. And this on its turn, could help to raise on more scandalous campaign against Azerbaijanis and to turn Azerbaijan into "another Kazakhstan".

After I provided information to Zubtsev that these crimes are diversion of Armenians, he told me that, not only you others also say that. He promised that he will conduct investigation. After that, he came to the territory of the 3rd micro-district where the events took place. Here, destruction of the buildings had been conducted in the systemized way. The Armenian families living at the lower floors of the buildings were not damaged, however, the apartments of the Armenian families who lived at the higher floors had been attacked, people were killed, the apartments were robbed, and the property was destroyed.

I showed all these to Zubtsev and explained the reasons how all these might happen. I stated that if Azerbaijanis really intended to kill Armenians, they would enter the apartments at the lower floors and kill Armenians living there, however, the murders had been implemented based on the special plan and the scheme. The investigation that I conducted shows that, nothing happened to Armenians who paid membership fee to the nationalist organization “Krunk”, those who were killed and injured belonged to the poor strata of Armenians and were not able to pay money to “Krunk”.

Zubtsev understood what I said and as an investigator and a criminalist, he understood the reasons of the crimes committed. When we were returning from the 3rd micro-district, he told me on the way: “I believe you and the facts prove what you say. But whom do you relay on? On HEYDAR ALIYEV? HE IS NOT THERE ANY MORE!” I felt that he said that with a bit of sorrow. I understood that in this case he is sorry for being unable to disclose the truth.

In the following course of events, the “farsighted” policy of Gorbachev and his surrounding failed. Although he had a great role in the collapse of the USSR, he was not able to keep the promise he gave to Armenians. Even though, Armenian nationalists still try to present the “Sumqayit events” that they organized and realized to the world community as a “genocide”. But it’s too late. The world and the international organizations already understood who is who. If Armenians would get courage and expose the organizers of the events in Sumqayit and judge them before the community, they may obtain some points as a fair nation. Unfortunately, they are not brave enough to do it.”



**AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC
PROSECUTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE**

THE PROTOCOL

OF THE WITNESS INTERROGATION

May 19, 2010.

Case # 60206

the city of Sumqayit

Interview started at 13:30

Interview ended at 14:35

Guliyeva Khalida Shirin gizi

Citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born on July 1, 1940, in the region of Fuzuli, Azerbaijan, has higher education, arrived, Chief podiatrist of the city of Sumqayit, habitant of the city of Sumqayit, had been interrogated as a witness by the Investigator on Specially Important Issues of the Investigation Department on Grave Crimes of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, the Counselor of Justice **Sardar Shamsiyev** in accordance with articles 85, 95, 227, and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

I have been informed about the responsibility for refusing to give a testimony and responsibility for deliberately providing false testimony in accordance with article 297 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Witness



(Khalida Guliyeva)

I state the following as the answer to the questions given to me:

“I remember the events that took place in Sumqayıt on 27-29 February 1988, very good, in fact, it is impossible to forget and keep silent regarding such tragedies and undesirable events that became the black pages of the history.

At that period, I worked at the position of Chief Pediatrician at the Sumqayıt City Health Department. I remember it very good, that immediately after the confrontation took place, the special headquarters consisting of the medical staff had been established. The emergency cars took the wounded people to the hospitals. One of the nurses who was of Armenian nation and purely spoke Azerbaijani, Amaliya, I don't remember her surname, approached me and said that all the Armenians who were wounded and killed are from Karabakh. She knew Armenians living here very good. At that period, in Stepanakert that was a center of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, the Armenians who wanted Karabakh to join Armenia held meetings. Amaliya also said that, deliberate killing of Armenians of Karabakh in Sumqayıt is very strange. Now it became clear that the purpose of the Armenians separatists they tried to arouse hatred in their nation and in other nations against Azerbaijanis and tried to strengthen this feeling.

At that period, straining the situation in Sumqayıt by Armenians who had patrons in the higher circles of the empire, put every inhabitant of Sumqayıt into a difficult situation. I remember that one of those who worked at the Party Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, in the eve of the events, made a phone call to Svetlana who lived in Sumqayıt and worked as a nurse at the child polyclinic No 2 and required her to leave the city. He told to his sister that the confrontation will begin in the city very soon. Where did the leaders of the governing party get this information from? The answer is clear. Because they were solidary with the nationalist extremists and prepared those plans themselves. At that time, I made a phone call to the Sumqayıt city Department of the SSC, I heard that several representatives of the USSR State Security Committee are in Sumqayıt. I delivered that information to them, but they did not pay attention to it.

In general, there was not such a criminogenic situation in Sumqayıt that was later presented as pretext and the situation was not intense. The

Armenian nationalists who benefited from the support of the leadership of USSR and, personally, of Gorbachev and Yakovlev used various means and deliberately created confrontation with Azerbaijanis.

A few months after the events in Sumqayit, I participated at the All-Union Congress of Pediatrician. At the congress, we were sitting together with representatives of Georgia and Armenia. There also was a podiatrist from Nagorno-Karabakh in the delegation of Armenia. I knew Nelli Grigoryan long ago. I often met her at the events devoted to the medical issues organized at the Health Ministry of our Republic. However, here she was within the Armenians delegation, therefore, when she saw me she just greeted me with head because she was afraid of her Armenian colleagues. During the break, she approached to me and asked to talk at the place where there were a few people. Nelli said that, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is getting worse, they blame the people who do not participate at the meetings and do not support the so-called “genocide”, and arrest them with various pretexts. Armenians also prepare special plans in Azerbaijan, presently, the propaganda is conducted in this direction also in Sumqayit. They say to the relatives of the people who died in Sumqayit that they could stay alive if they would be members of “Krunks”.

I just remembered on more example of the insidious policy of Armenians against us. When we registered our mandates for participation at that congress, the responsible representative of the USSR Ministry of Health that conducted registration, a person named Tegay told me that, “O, are you from Sumqayit? You are savages... They say that during the events in Sumqayit, physicians cut the pregnant Armenian women and killed their children, and played football with their heads”. I told him that I feel sorry that they believe such falsehood. I even tolled to Tegay that I will complain about his attitude to the Ministry of Health. I complained to the USSR Deputy Ministry of Health Baranov and he took appropriate measures regarding Tegay.

In the period when the events took place, I came to the hospital situated at the settlement named after Haji Zeynalabdin Tagiyev that is subordinated to Sumqayit, in order to control the situation of Armenians that were located at the military garrison there. One Azerbaijani nurse working there approached to me and said that they have a very sick Armenian child. She understood Armenian and heard that Armenians think

that the child has no chance to survive and they wanted to kill the child and blame Azerbaijanis for that, as if Azerbaijanis did not pay enough attention to the sick Armenian child. As soon as I heard that, I immediately went to the room where that child was and I saw that many Armenian women gathered around the child and his mother and are talking something in their own language and are discussing something. And the child's mother hugged him and was crying. Among them I saw Silva who worked as a nurse at the maternity hospital No 1 and whom I knew. I called her. She said that Armenians say to the child's mother anyway he will be disabled in the future, let him die and we will take the body to the central square of Sumqayit and put him near the monument of Lenin, let everybody see that Azerbaijanis did not feel sorry even for Armenian children.

With the help of soldiers, we took that child under the strict control and provided medical assistance and the baby got better. Later, I learnt that the Armenian ideologists reproached the organizers of the vents in Sumqayit, because they did not arrange "death of Armenian children" in Sumqayit, it would give them additional chance to create an image of "savage Azerbaijani". Apparently, Armenians did not even abstain from killing their Armenian children and babies in order to achieve their purposes.

Armenians themselves confess that (recently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia made a statement about that) if there would not be the events in Sumqayit, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict would flow absolutely different. We also know that, the events would not be committed by Armenians, the meetings in Stepanakert would calm down and the plans of Dashnaks would be destroyed.

This is what I remember.

Witness



(Khalida Guliyeva)

...It becomes clear from the words of the witnesses and from the facts and the arguments that it is not correct to show Grigoryan as an organizer of the events in Sumqayit. Thus, Grigoryan was not an organizer, he was an executor. However, the organizers were the leadership of Armenia, its intelligence bodies, and the extremist groups of the Dashnak party. And the forces supporting them were the large states that were active in destruction of the USSR and the Kremlin. There is no doubt about it.

Let's see what do the writers, political scientists, and intellectuals of various nations write about those events?

Aleksey Zverev in his book "Sporniye granitsi Kafkaza" ("The Disputable Borders of Caucasus") wrote: "In 1988, the agents network of the USSR State Security Committee was in action. The Security bodies of Moscow already knew that the riots will take place".

Anatoliy Mostovoy in his book "Reznya" ("The Massacre") wrote that, "The state was not destroyed at Belovejskaya Pushsha. They divided the power there. The first crack in the collapse of the Soviet Union appeared in Sumqayit".

Leonid Borisov in his book "Betray. How did the great state collapse" wrote: "If there would not be agreement of the high ranking officials of the USSR, such situation could not happen in Sumqayit. At that time, the Mass Media did not write about Azerbaijanis expelled from Armenia. In contrast, they provided broad information about Armenian refugees who were displaced from Sumqayit and Azerbaijan in general".

Members of the "National independence union" M. Yermakyan and M. Zarubyan wrote: "Azerbaijanis did not organize and they are not guilty in the events that took place in Sumqayit on February 28-29, 1988. We have strong facts regarding that". ("Bakinskiy rabochiy" newspaper, February 28, 2003).

THE SOVIET TROOPS HAD BEEN SENT TO SUMQAYIT, HOWEVER, THEY DID NOT INTERVENE IN EVENTS, PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN FRONT OF THE EYES OF THE SOVIET SOLDIERS. THEY WAITED FOR THE ORDER OF GORBACHEV TO ANNOUNCE THE CURFEW.

(S. Abushov, in 1988, Head of the Department of administrative Bodies of the Sumqayit city Party Committee)

“On 1 March by order of the USSR Minister of Defence D. Yazov, the curfew had been announced in Sumqayit. General Krayev had been appointed as a Commandant of the city. Here, we would like to clarify one issue. **A few days before the events that took place in Sumqayit, the military units of the USSR Ministry of Defence No 5424, 5426, 5456, 3219, and 5232 had been stationed in various estates and micro-districts of Sumqayit. They took waiting position. At the meeting with the authors of the documentary film “The Echo of Sumqayit”, USSR Minister of Defence D. Yazov in his answer to the question “Why the troops that were in Sumqayit did not interfere with the event?” said that, “We could not give an order without the consent of the Supreme Commander in Chief (Gorbachev is meant - author)”**

The correspondent: “At the session of the Supreme Soviet of USSR held on July 18, 1988, Gorbachev stated that the troops were one hour late to Sumqayit. Is that true?”

Yazov gave the following answer to this question: “That is absolute falsehood. The Soviet troops were never late to anywhere. At the moment when the order was given, I announced the curfew in Sumqayit”.

The events that were going to happen in Sumqayit had been known to the Kremlin and the USSR State Security Committee in advance. However, instead of preventing it, the Central bodies preferred to set two nations against each other. The anti-Azerbaijan campaign was strengthening in Moscow in the high circles.

As it is seen, there were forces in the high circles of the USSR that were interested in the events that took place in Sumqayit. Besides, a range

of the large states were interested in appearance of the conflict in the USSR on the national grounds and they provided every assistance to the separatists forces.

One of the interesting facts is that, before the events form the high-ranking officers, Aleksandr Grachov, Vadim Muravyov, Igor Agayev, Aleksandr Vorobyov and others were in Sumqayit, however, they did not take any actions to prevent the riots. From Moscow, the representatives of the USSR State Security Committee Chernenko, Galkin, Stepashin, and Nikolayev were in Sumqayit. They were at the local security bodies and observed the course of events. They knew about the bloody action that was going to happen in Sumqayit. However, they did not recommend intervention in events, as Bobkov said, they did not get the order from Moscow.

When 32 people died in Sumqayit, the Russian intelligence officers left Sumqayit in rush. In a short period, the ranks of the officers of the State Security Committee had been advanced. Stepashin took position of the Prime Minister in the period of the former president of Russia Boris Yeltsin. Who do all these inform about? The “Social democrats” of the Political Bureau together with the intelligence bodies of Armenia (under the control of the USSR State Security Committee) realized the Sumqayit syndrome. Thus, the first stage of the issue related with Nagorno-Karabakh had been completed.

Armenian nationalists and the terrorist organizations successfully realized their insidious plan. At the same time, they began creating a negative image of Azerbaijan and its peace loving people in the world community. Although, Armenians consider it a “success”, the course of events shows that they did not gain success from it.

**AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC
PROSECUTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE**

THE PROTOCOL

Of the witness Interview

15 April 2011

Case # 60206

the city of Baku

Interview started at 17.00

Interview ended at 18.30

Golosilkin Yuriy Stepanovich

citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born on June 16, 1935, in the city of Baku, has higher education, married, Head of the clerks group of the ANS TV company, had been interrogated as a witness by the Senior Investigator on Specially Important Issues of the Investigation Department on Grave Crimes of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, the Chief Counselor of Justice **Mirzayev Nadir Shahmardan oghlu** in accordance with articles 227 and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Golosilkin Yuriy Stepanovich said:

"I can say the following as a response to the questions given to me. From 1954 to 1995, I occupied various positions at the Azerbaijan Republic State Security Committee. In 1988, I worked at the apparatus of the State Security Committee and the Azerbaijan Ministry of Communication was under my supervision.

On 27-29 February, 1988, the known events took place in Sumqayit. As a responsible staff member, in order to help the representatives of the law enforcement bodies, I was sent for mission to Sumqayit. One person who

came from Moscow, the USSR State Security Committee was managing. (unfortunately, I don't remember his name and surname).

In March, I received such information that the inhabitant of the Nasosni settlement, Bayramov Idayat Huseyn oghlu when returning home on about 15-20th of February, 1988 saw white "GAZ-24" car. The car's number was 19-19, however, he did not remember the letters. In the car four or five people were talking to each other. In order not to forget the number of the car, he wrote it on the wall of the building. I was interested in this fact and I informed the management. We did not receive exact response from the State Traffic Police of the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs. After that, we sent a stenogram to the State Security Committee of Armenia. They responded that the car "GAZ-24" with registration number "19-19 ARX" belongs to Sagikyan Robert Amayakovich. He was born in 1929, worked at the position of the director of the Sports and Concert Complex in Yerevan. They mentioned that, in 1988, the car was not in Sumqayit. We sent the obtained information to the local security bodies of Sumqayit.

We would like to draw your attention to one more fact. The Azerbaijan State Security Committee and Sumqayit State Security Committee had been informed about the events that were going to take place.

I can say with full responsibility that the events in Sumqayit had been planned in advance, and diversion had been committed under the leadership of the USSR State Security Committee".

Противник моего народа, с моих слов
господин Бейрамов И.С. 18.04/88.
Государственный архив Азербайджана.

**AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC
PROSECUTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE**

THE PROTOCOL

Of the witness Interview

31.08.2010.

Case # 60206

the city of Baku

Interview started at 16:30

Interview ended at 15:00

Mammadov Anatoliy Mammad oghlu

Citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, was born on March 3, 1953, in the city of Nakhchivan, Azerbaijani, has higher education, married, habitant of the city of Sumqayit, had been interrogated as a witness by the member of the Investigation Group of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, the Colonel of Justice **Jarchiyev Sardar Murtuz oghlu** in accordance with articles 227 and 230 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

I have been informed about the responsibility for refusing to give a testimony in accordance with article 298 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic and responsibility for deliberately providing false testimony in accordance with article 297 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Witness



“I can say the following as a response to the questions given to me. I graduated secondary school in the region of Jabrail. Then, I had been accepted to the Higher School of the USSR State Security Committee. After completion of my education, I received assignment for work at the Sumqayit Department of the Azerbaijan Republic State Security Committee. In 1988, I worked at the position of the head of the department. In January that year, I received information from the agents that in the recent time Armenians are going to commit riots in Sumqayit. The Armenian families had been determined as a main target. By shedding blood in Sumqayit, they were going to raise the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. In the late February, the diversion group began coming from Armenia. According to the information I received, initially, the Armenian special intelligence bodies were going to commit riots in Baku. However, taking into account that the action they were planning was not possible to be realized in Baku, they decided to commit the riots in Sumqayit. In 1987, based on the decree of the president of USSR M. Gorbachev, the convicts released from prisons had been sent to Sumqayit. There were many technical professional schools in Sumqayit. Young people studying there, were from the various regions of Azerbaijan and therefore were far from the parents' control. It was easy to instigate them to commit riots.

After February 20, 1988, I began receiving information that the riots are going to be committed in Sumqayit very soon. On February 25-26, people in black coats appeared in Sumqayit. On February 27, at 13:30, I received information that the meetings are held in Sumqayit. I urgently informed our chief. However, he gave an order not to go to the city center.

People often say that as if the soviet troops were late to Sumqayit. It was a diversion. The troops were in the city and they waited for the order of Gorbachev. When we provided information about it to the representatives of the USSR State Security Committee sent for mission to Sumqayit, they told that, “it is not our business, we cannot interfere with the activity of the militants”.

There was a call from Moscow, from the State Security Committee and they required information. I provided comprehensive information about the course of events and recommended that the troops would prevent the riots. However, nobody listened to me. Eduard Grigoryan led the riots in Sumqayit. He had a list in his hands. He attacked the apartments of

Armenians, robbed them, killed people, and raped women. He had his own supervisors. Otherwise, Grigoryan who lived parasitically would not be able to commit such a great riots in Sumqayit. He was guided by the intelligence bodies of USSR and Armenia.

It was stated in the information we received that a woman named Roza who worked in the sphere of education, refused to give money to Bagdasaryan living in the 14-storey building. We got interested in this issue. It appeared that, in the late February, Armenians collected money and wanted to put a statue for the commemoration of Armenians who died in Stepanakert and Sumqayit. Once again, it proves that Armenians planned the events in Sumqayit, in advance, in order to discredit the people of Azerbaijan in front of the world community. How it may happen that on one side they attack the apartments of the Armenian families, kill people, rape Armenian girls and on the other side, they already collect money for the monument before the events finished? It seems that there is no need for comments.

I would like to touch upon one more issue. We received information that the people in black coats who were of Armenian nation are being hidden in the summer cottages in Novkhani and they are supplied with products every day. We provided information about it to the commandant of Sumqayit Krayev, that the checking needs to be conducted there and we should capture the saboteurs. However, Krayev did not agree and recommended us not to interfere in this issue. The chief of the department where I worked was changed. V. Lebedev became a head of the Sumqayit Security Department. In April 1988, although it was strange, with the order of Lebedev, I transferred the case to Armenian Sergey Ohanesyan. I believe that all the photos and disclosing materials had been either destroyed or hidden by him.

Witness:



A.M.Mammadov

**AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC
PROSECUTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE**

THE PROTOCOL

Of the witness Interview

24 January 2011

Case # 60206

city of Baku

Interview started at 13:30.

Interview ended at 16:40.

Mammadov Eldar Ahmad oghlu,

citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born on November 11, 1953, in the region of Agstafa, Azerbaijani, has higher education, married, habitant of the city of Baku, had been interrogated as a witness by the Senior Investigator on Specially Important Issues of the Investigation Department on Grave Crimes of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, the Chief Counselor of Justice **Hamidov Anvar Gudrat oghlu** in accordance with articles 90, 126, 232, and 234 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

I have been informed about the responsibility for refusing to give a testimony in accordance with article 298 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic and responsibility for deliberately providing false testimony in accordance with article 297 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Witness



E. Mammadov

“As to the matter of the case, I can say that from December 1986 to August 1988, I worked at the position of the First Secretary of the Sumqayit city Komsomol Committee. I would like to say that, until February 27, 1988, there was nothing extraordinary in Sumqayit. All the enterprises,

plants, and factories worked in harmony, however, a few people gathered in front of the City Party Committee, but they dispersed very soon. My driver Rovshan, told me that as if 200 armed Armenians gathered at the Seaside Park. We immediately went there. The fact was not true. In the evening at about 18.00 or 19.00, about 200 people gathered in front of the City Party Committee. I recently came to Sumqayit from Baku. I did not know many people. I met the Head of the Organizational Department of the Sumqayit City Party Committee, Ismail Amiraslanov. Although, he lived in Sumqayit for long time, he did not recognize those people.

Majority of the meeting participants looked like sportsmen, they had black coats and black waistcoats produced at the Masis region of Armenia on them. The activists of Sumqayit gathered at the City Committee. They spoke to the meeting participants separately, all of them stated that they do not know any of them.

After a few hours, about 2 thousand people gathered at the square. They were shouting that Armenians burn their houses, kill Azerbaijanis, and etc. I gathered the Komsomol activists together and we created headquarters. I sent the activists to the place of events for checking every news. We withdrew about 100 Armenians from their apartments and rescued them from the criminals. We established defence groups in several estates and micro-districts, the people who committed riots faced resistance and could not enter those estates.

After the events, Russian officers were sitting in my cabinet. We had conversation with them. One of them said that, the people in the higher circle who sent them here told them that, "Azerbaijan is a second Afghanistan, it means that they are our enemies". However, we saw the opposite. Azerbaijanis are very pleasant and hospitable people.

A lot is written and the documentary films are made about the events in Sumqayit. I made a conclusion that the events in Sumqayit had been organized by the foreign special service bodies as well as by the intelligence bodies of Armenia. There is no doubt that it was made with support of Moscow.

After the events that took place in Sumqayit, Armenians again tried to instigate the situation. Let me provide an example. I received information that the apartment of Armenians in the 18th micro-district is burning. We went to the place of an accident. As to the neighbours, the fire started 20-

30 minutes ago. We informed the firemen. They urgently came, when they entered the apartment, it was empty. There were not even their household things, the owner of the apartment committed the fire himself. After inspection of the apartment, it was revealed that there is a plate on the table. There was benzene in the plate, they lighted the candle and put it in the center of the plate, when the candle burnt out the benzene began burning and fire started. Several such cases had been registered in Sumqayit. Thus, they wanted to use the curfew. If there would not be Moscow and Armenian lobby supporting Armenians, they would not be able to raise the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and the tragedy would not appear in Sumqayit.

Those killed in Sumqayit were from the poor families, they were simple citizens who did not pay money to the “KrunK” society. It was revealed later. And the events had been planned and realized by the special service bodies of USSR and Armenia.

Witness



E.Mammadov

Below, we provide the QUOTES of some people who worked at the state and security bodies, regarding the events that took place in Sumqayit in February 1988.

**A.KICHIKHIN,
Former employee of the
USSR State Security Committee**

“We were informed about the bloody events that were planned to be committed in Sumqayit, Uzen, and Osh. We gave information about it to the USSR State Security Committee and they informed the Central Committee. All our written and verbal information was accepted with silence in the Central Committee. The party leaders did nothing for prevention of the separatists and the criminal groups”.

(“Stolitsa” journal. January, 1991.)

H.HAJIALIYEV

Former employee of the Sumqayit Department of the Azerbaijan Republic State Security Committee

“In 1988, when we said to the first Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Security Committee Filipp Bodkov that there are enough military forces in Sumqayit for prevention of the riots, Bodkov responded that, he cannot do it. He could not interfere with the events without the order from Moscow”.

Y. GOLOSILKIN

Former employee of the Azerbaijan Republic State Security Committee

“We received information that cameras had been installed in Sumqayit. We provided information about it to the USSR State Security Committee, unfortunately, our information was left without response.

the first Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Security Committee Filipp Bodkov arrived to Baku and held a meeting at the Azerbaijan State Security Committee. At the end I had a speech at the tribune. In my speech, I mentioned that the events in Sumqayit were the action developed and prepared by the special intelligence bodies in advance. The course of the events, their features, and preparedness proved that.

After my speech, Bodkov called me and required me to prove the truthfulness of the evidences. I told him that we sent information we had to the USSR State Security Committee, however, we did not get any response. After the meeting, I was abolished from conducting investigation regarding the events in Sumqayit”.

A.MAMMADOV

**Former Deputy Head of the Sumqayit city Department of the
Azerbaijan Republic State Security Committee**

“The scenario of the events in Sumqayit had been drafted in advance. Under the leadership of the Colonel Poponin from the USSR State Security Committee a delegation consisting of 30 people came to Sumqayit. We witnessed that they did not take any measures in favor of the Azerbaijani people. In contrary, in their conversations with Armenians, they instigated them against Azerbaijanis. The waiting position of the troops also surprised everybody. The matter was clear. The diversion should have been committed in Sumqayit and it was committed”.

FINAL OUTCOME:

Destruction of the USSR had been realized in Moscow by the social democrats led by the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party M.Gorbachev. Under the veil of democracy and *glasnost* in the country, he disclosed almost all the secret archives and together with the scientists, intellectuals, writers who took anti-Soviet position, by means of intelligence bodies of the foreign countries, he began to work systematically on destroying USSR, creating conflicts between nations, as a result, work on preparation of clashes in the national republics. And the chief “architect” of the Gorbachev’s “perestroika” Aleksandr Yakovlev was the one who provided a broad ideological room for them. And the special service bodies and Armenian lobby acting on the other side of the ocean provided financial assistance to those democrats.

And Sumqayit became a victim of that disagreeable and treacherous policy. Presence of the representatives of the USSR State Security Committee and the Soviet troops in Sumqayit informed about the riots that were going to happen. Why were they sent to Sumqayit, but did not provide direct instructions to the local organizations? Why did not they interfere when the meetings began? Why the people in black coats who appeared in the city were not arrested? Could not they suppress the riots at the very beginning?

The representatives of the State Security Committee and the militants demonstrated their omission. They came here not to disperse the riots, they came to create the riots. The waiting position of the special service bodies, soldiers, and the officers confirmed that. The order should have been made in Moscow. And the order was delayed. As the order was delayed the blood was shed in Sumqayit.

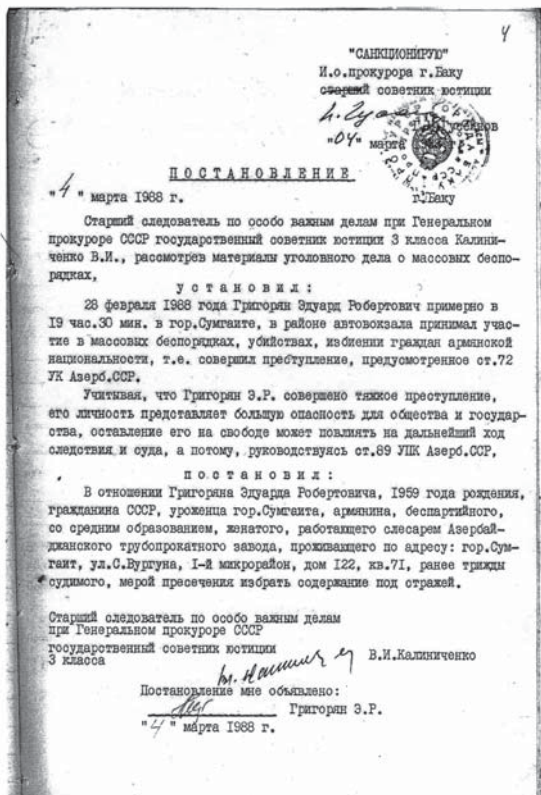
Gorbachev said in one of his speeches that the troops were one hour late to Sumqayit. The First Secretary of the Sumqayit city Party Committee J. Muslimzadeh (in 1988), before announcing the curfew, said to the General Krayev that, the troops should be sent to the city for prevention of the riots and the savagery of the burglars should be stopped. However, Krayev did not give positive answer to Muslimzadeh. One of the authors of this book, in Moscow during his meeting with the USSR Minister of Defence D. Yazov (we are talking about 1993), said about what Muslimzadeh told to Krayev and the Soviet Marshal responded that he had no right to interfere with the events without receiving an order from Gorbachev.

When Gorbachev issued an order, 32 people had already been killed and hundreds of people got various injuries in Sumqayit.

As a result of inaction of the Soviet army, indecisiveness of its leader, and diversion of the special service bodies, the blood of innocent people was shed in Sumqayit. Whom should we keep responsible for that? The answer is unambiguous: Gorbachev, the social-democrat” forces, which are one of the groups of the Central Committee, and the special service bodies are those in charge.

WHO IS GRIGORYAN, ORGANIZER OR EXECUTOR?

It becomes clear from the investigation conducted by the USSR Prosecutor General's Office and the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office whom really was Grigoryan. Who were those who involved him into this activity, provided him financial assistance and instruction? Under which code did the Armenian extremists commit killings and murders in Sumqayit? Below, we will try to provide comprehensive answers to these questions. As the other criminals, Grigoryan tried to evade from the investigation group, but he did not succeed. We publish the document regarding his arrest.



APPROVED

Acting Prosecutor of Baku city,

Legal Counsel

H. M. Huseynov

4 March 1988

DECISION

4 March 1988.

Senior investigator for especially important cases under the Prosecutor General of the USSR, 3rd rank state justice counsellor V. I. Kalinijenko, examining the materials of the criminal case concerning mass disturbances,

determined:

on 28 February 1988 at approximately 19:30, Eduard Robertovich Grigoryan participated in beating people of Armenian nationality during mass disturbances and in murders near the bus station in Sumqayit; thus committing a crime under Article 72 of Criminal Procedure Code of the Azerbaijan SSR.

Taking into account that a serious crime was committed by E. R. Grigoryan, that he represents a great danger to society and the state, and that his release could influence the investigation and court procedures,

decided:

pretrial confinement to be chosen for the citizen of the USSR born in 1959, non-party person, having secondary education, married, working as a metal worker at Azerbaijan pipe factory and living at S. Vurgun str. 122, flat 71, Sumqayit 1-st district, three times convicted Eduard Robertovich Grigoryan.

Senior investigator for especially important cases at the Prosecutor General of the USSR, 3rd rank state justice counsellor

Decision was presented to me:
E. R. Grigoryan March 4 1988.
V. I. Kalinijenko

After Grigoryan's imprisonment the Prosecutor General of USSR and Azerbaijan Prosecutor Office have questioned the victims and witnesses to prove the violent crimes committed in Sumqayit. Cruel and brutal acts committed by Grigoryan can only evoke aversion. This person led criminals that surrounded him during murders, rape of Armenian women, plunders and demolitions for three days. Despite the fact that some of the members of his criminal group were arrested, unfortunately, they were released with the permission of the Prosecutor General of USSR and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Anyway... Let us have a look at the testimonies of the witnesses.

PROTOCOL OF INTERROGATION AT THE CONFRONTATION

March 15 1988

Senior investigator for special and important cases at the Prosecutor General of the USSR V. I. Kalinijenko and the prosecutor of the senior investigation department A. S. Moskalyov, at the confrontation of victim Lyudmila Grigoryevna Mejlumyan and the accused Eduard Robertovich Grigoryan.

...Question to the victim L.G. Mejlumyan:- In what circumstances have you first seen Grigoryan?
Answer of L.G. Mejlumyan: I have seen him on February 28, 1988 among other criminals when they forcibly entered our house. I have not seen or known him before and I do not remember what he did.

Grigoryan:- I do not know this girl.

Question to L.G. Mejlumyan:- during the identification you recognized Grigoryan and stated that he was one of the offenders. Is that true?
Answer of L.G. Mejlumyan:- Yes, I remember him well. He was at our

apartment. But I can't say now what exactly he was doing. I remember him and one other "cross-eyed" well.

Question to L.G. Mejlumyan:-Grigoryan says that you are mistaken and he has never been at your apartment.

Answer of L.G. Mejlumyan:- I am sure that he has been at our apartment, but I do not remember now what he was doing.

Grigoryan: I know the "cross-eyed" that you mentioned. His name is Nadir. He is my neighbour. I could not do this. I call every girl I do not know a sister. I know that I have not been there. I was busy with my child after I came back from work

Question to Grigoryan:- When you were presented for the identification, it was done with the presence of two other men unknown to Mejlumyan. However, among these people, Mejlumyan recognized only you.

Grigoryan: I understand everything. But it could have been some man that looks like me. This girl could be mistaken. That night I was running from them myself. They could stab me too. Question to Grigoryan: How could you run from them? You stated that you were at home that evening.

Grigoryan: I gave detailed information to the investigator that on the evening of 28 February I visited my relatives and was returning home at around 20:00. Someone ran after me and tried to knife me. My mother and my wife told me not to go anywhere and stay at home. But I went to accompany my wife's friend Sveta Aghayeva. Then I visited my wife's brother and ran into a group of people when I came back. They shouted that he (meaning me) is also an Armenian. And this girl, I don't know her.

Question to Mejlumyan: See? Grigoryan insists that you are mistaken and he does not know you.

Mejlumyan's answer: I remember him very well and if I am mistaken, then there is a person that looks like him 100%. But that does not happen.

Question to Mejlumyan:- Do you have any questions to Grigoryan? Mejlumyan's answer:- No, I do not have any questions for him Grigoryan addressing Mejlumyan: I have a question. I beg you Lyudmila... remark of the investigator: That is not a question. This is another attempt to persuade the victim. Grigoryan's answer: This is not an attempt to persuade her. Let her speak honestly.

remark of the investigator:- you are being warned that by using phrases like “let her speak honestly”, “I beg you, sister”, etc. with a certain tone, you are attempting to influence the victim. These are not questions. By saying this you want the victim to confirm your absence from the place during the time of the assault.

Grigoryan:- Not at all, not at all

Question to Grigoryan:- Then, why do you need these pitiful words: “I have a sister like you, a wife like you” ?

Grigoryan’s answer: No, no. I just want to say that me and my family, we were also in danger. That’s why I could not be there, do you understand, I could not be there. I could be hurt too. I was also in danger.

Warning to Grigoryan:- No one forces you to testify anything or to confess. There is a confrontation between you and the victim now, she remembers and confirms you as one of the abusers. Before this confrontation, the sister of the victim also recognized you as one of the criminals. Can there be so many coincidences?

Grigoryan:- I know what you want. There was this ‘cross-eyed’ one. We were caught together. But we are not the same.

All of the above was said by us and is true; we read it, there are no violations and we have nothing to add.

Signatures _____

Mejlumyan
Grigoryan

Prosecutor of the Main Investigation Department of the USSR
Prosecutor’s office

A.S. Moskalyov

Senior investigator for special cases under the Prosecutor General of
the USSR

V. I. Kalinijenko

Militiaman of patrol detachment of Sumqayit internal affairs department Parvardigar Haydarov Huseyn. Born in the Armenian SSR, Masis region, Demirchi village in 1965, Azerbaijani, secondary education, non-party person, single, resident of Sumqayit.

Questioned as a witness by different investigators 3 times:

1) By inspector Yermolenkov the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigative team at the internal affairs department, Sumqayit, on 22 March 1988.

2) By inspector A. Aliyev of the USSR Prosecutor's office investigative team at the National Security Committee, Baku, on 6 July 1988.

3) By inspector V.I. Starikov of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigative team at the National Security Committee, Baku, on 9 August 1988.

Witness P.H. Haydarov stated in his testimony, "on 28 February 1988, about 200-300 people causing disturbances in separate groups were gathered near the main bus station. They stopped a green Moskvich-2140 car that was approaching Sumqayit from Baku. The driver was a woman, approximately 50 years old; on her right was seated a blind man of about the same age. On the back seat there was a 14-15 year old girl. They pulled all three of them out of the car and started beating them." Parvardigar Haydarov, along with Sergeant Nagi Nuriyev and two other people from the crowd that were helping them, were successful in pulling out the passengers. The girl was handed over to Colonel Fataliyev, the man and woman were delivered to hospital. The bandit gang then turned the car over and set it on fire.

Nuriyev Nagi Muhammad, born in Sumqayit in 1961, Azerbaijani, secondary education, member of the Lenin Communist Youth Union, married (1988), militiaman of the patrol service of the internal affairs department. Resident of Sumqayit.

Has been questioned twice by different investigators on different dates about the Moskvich episode.

1) By inspector Yermolenko of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigative team at the traffic police department, Sumqayit, on 21 March 1988.

2) By inspector R.M. Yusupov of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigative team at the National Security Committee, Baku, on 21 August 1988.

The testimony of Sergeant Nagi Nuriyev who was questioned as a witness about the Moskvich episode coincides with the testimony of militiaman Parvardigar Haydarov who was questioned as a witness about the same episode. N. Nuriev stated that they saved the passengers of the green Moskvich by pulling them away from the bandit group. We share part of his testimony in which he answered the investigator on 9 August: "... On 28 February 1988, I was at the post along with P. Haydarov, and the head of first station of internal affairs department Colonel M. Damirov. At around 16:00 we saw a Moskvich car at the junction of Sulh and Dostlug streets coming from Baku. A big group of young people approached the car to check the nationality of the passengers. There was a middle-aged woman, a middle-aged man and a 15-16 year old girl in the car. The people from the group asked them for their documents. When we saw this situation, we approached the car through the crowd. Someone from the crowd said that the passengers were Armenians. The bandits tried to topple the car along with the passengers. They were shouting- "Death to Armenians!" Haydarov and I prevented this. The crowd then started to pull the passengers out of the vehicle. I cannot remember how this happened. Haydarov and I surrounded the passengers so they did not get hurt. The crowd could have killed them. Their purpose was to kill them. They were out of control. We could feel that they were under the influence of drugs or were drunk. I could not recognize most of them. The people in the gang were not from Sumqayit. They were hitting the passengers from above our heads. We tried to convince them that they were Lezgis, not Armenians. They did not believe us. They hit the man on his head with a stick, he started bleeding. They started hitting and kicking the woman Haydarov took the girl away and I stayed with the man and the woman. Haydarov also got hurt, I saw his jaw bleeding. I do not remember how I managed to come out of the crowd with those two people. The man was bleeding, the woman also was hurt, but I saw no blood on her. I wanted to take them to hospital, and the woman asked me to find her girl. When Haydarov was protecting the girl I saw that her dress was torn at the chest. There were soldiers aside from the uncontrolled crowd. I approached them and asked for help. They did not react to my plea. There was a 5-storey building near the car stood. There I saw militiamen and firefighters. There also stood Haydarov with the girl he saved. The angry group demanded the girl. We

did not surrender her to the group. Question: How do you think could they really kill the passengers of that car? Answer: Certainly, they would tear them apart if we were not there. The only thing that the crowd wanted was their death. They shouted: "Death to Armenians!"...

PROTOCOL OF INTERVIEW WITH THE VICTIM

19 January 1989

Victim Roza Antonovna Melumyan was presented with a videocassette in Yerevan on 19 January 1989, to identify the participants in unrest in Sumqayit along with 22 men, each of whom was given a number according to articles 155 and 157 of Criminal Procedure Code of the Armenian SSR. This was presented by inspectors of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Vasili Grigoryevich Lukirich and Sergey Nikolayevich Marushkin, in the presence of criminologist-prosecutor of Armenian SSR Prosecutor's office Rafael Oksyonovich Gulnazaryan; with soldiers Bashir Avizovich Mehdiyev of military unit number 23641 and Valeri Ivanovich Griga of military unit number 3217 as witnesses.

П Р И Л О Ж Е Н И Е

к протоколу опознания от 19 января 19 88г.
по уголовному делу № _____



Предъявление лица для опознания потерпевшей Мелумян Л.Г.
обвиняемого Григорина Эдуарда Робертовича.

Вопитие: УСБ А.С.С. С.М.С.

Следователь: А.С.С.

Victim Roza Antonovna Mejlumyan asked to stop at sequence number 5 while watching the videotape and answered the questions of investigators as follows:

- Question:** - What is his surname?
Answer: - Grigoryan Eduard Robertovich.
Question: - Briefly, what was he doing in your house?
Answer: - he raped my daughter Karina before my eyes.
Question: - What else did he do?
Answer: - He was beating me.
Question: - what was he beating you with?
Answer: - With a chair leg.
Question: - Have you given a statement about him?
Answer: - Yes I have.
Question: - Is your testimony true?
Answer: - Yes, it is true and stays in force.
Question: - Do you have anything to add to what you have said?
Answer: - No.

PROTOCOL OF INTERVIEW WITH THE VICTIM

Victim Karina Grigoryevna Mejlumyan was presented with two videocassettes in Yerevan on 19 January 1989, to identify the participants of unrest in Sumqayit along with 57 men, each of whom was given a number according to articles 155 and 157 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Armenian SSR. This was presented by inspectors of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Vasili Grigoryevich Lukirich and Sergey Nikolayevich Marushkin, in the presence of criminologist-prosecutor of the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's office Rafael Oksyonovich Gulnazaryan; with soldiers Radik Fanzaliyevich Gabidulin of military unit number 11389 and Viktor Anatolyevich Boldaryov of military unit number 11389 as witnesses. Victim Karina Grigoryevna Mejlumyan asked to stop at sequence number 5 while watching the videotape and answered the questions of the investigators as follows.

Answer:- I know him. I think it is Edik Grigoryan. He was at our apartment. He was the first among the robbers.

Question:- The ones that broke into your apartment?

Answer:- Yes, I saw how he was beating my mother with a chair leg.

Question:- What else did he do? Did he rape anyone?

Answer:- I did not see him raping anyone.

Question:- Did you remember him as a robber?

Answer:- I only saw that he hit my mother with a chair leg several times.

Question:- Did he break anything in the apartment?

Answer:- I did not see him breaking anything, because I was in the living room. At that time they were breaking things in the bedroom.

Question:- Have you given a statement about him?

Ludmila and Karina Mejlumyan giving testimony against Grigoryan in Yerevan

Answer:- I made a statement about him before and I do not reject it.

Question:- Is it true?

Answer:- Yes

Question:- Are you sure it is him?

Answer:- Yes



PROTOCOL OF INTERVIEW WITH THE VICTIM

3 September 1988.

From the testimony of the victim Karina Grigoryevna Mejlumyan questioned as a witness by inspector S.G. Kamagin of the investigative team of the USSR Prosecutor's office on 3 September 1988: "...As I said before, I did not see the actions of E.R. Grigoryan, but I remember well now, it was E.R. Grigoryan who was beating my mother, hitting her with a chair leg on her head. I saw this very well, and I thought to myself, judging from the looks of Grigoryan, that he was a Lezgi."

"... about 15-20 minutes after the raid began, a 25-30 year old, clean-shaven young man, came into the room. I did not see any memorable marks on his face, he was wearing a black raincoat. Underneath the raincoat, he wore a white shirt. When he came in, everyone in the room went silent, stopped beating us; then he said: "enough with this apartment." The one near him said, pointing at me: "what do we do with her?" To that he answered: "Take her out". After this, several people carried me out of the room. I don't know what happened in our apartment afterwards. When they were taking me out to the street, they pulled at my skirt. They continued beating me. They were holding my hands and legs, hitting me against the wall and the railings. I did not resist, because I was too tired. Even in the room, I asked them not to touch me, but they did not listen. So, they took me out, threw me on the pavement, and started kicking me. I felt a strong pain in my liver, and then I fainted. When I awoke, they were still beating me, I fainted again. Awakened, I saw that I was in our neighbours' apartment, apartment number 8. My parents were also there. A bit later, I do not know how much time passed, I remember my sister Marina came too. Later they brought Lyudmila there, I think she was brought by the owner of that apartment. She was also badly beaten."

FROM THE PROTOCOL OF PRESENTATION FOR IDENTIFICATION.

09 March 1988

The suspect was presented to the witness Lyudmila Grigoryevna Mejlumyan for identification by the chief investigator of special and important cases of the USSR Prosecutor's office Karchenko V. I. according to article 177 and 179 of the Criminal Prosecution Code of the Azerbaijan SSR. In the room where the identification took place, Mejlumyan L. G. said, looking at the three people that were presented to her: "Among the people presented to me for identification, without any doubt, as I testified before, during the investigation and now, I recognise the man sitting in the middle. I recognise him from his look and face. I will speak about his actions on 28 February during the interview. The one recognised was asked to name himself. He said his name: Grigoryan Eduard Robertovich.

WITNESS INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

9 March 1988

From the interrogation of the witness Lyudmila Grigoryevna Mejlumyan by the chief inspector of special and important cases of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Kalinichenko V.I.: "Today I was presented with three people, suspected of participation in the mass unrest in Sumqayit for identification... "I easily recognized the man who called himself Grigoryan. He was speaking Azerbaijani that night, but I thought he was a Lezgi. He personally raped me. I remember he was one of the first in the line, and about fifth of the rapists... He raped me on the floor..."

WITNESS INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

26 September 1988

From the testimony of witness Igor Magomedovich Aghayev (born in Sumqayit in 1961, Azerbaijani, secondary education. Address: Sumqayit, block 7-8-12, Nizami str.1, flat 2) given to the inspector S.G.Kamagin of

the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigative team on 26 September 1988: "I served in the army from May 1980 till March 1982. I went to Baku in the morning of 28 February 1988, on personal business. I came back to Sumqayit in the evening by bus, it was approximately 18:00-19:00. There was unrest in the city. People were running around in groups. I saw from afar that there was a bonfire close to the Sputnik store; I think it was a car that was burning, it was difficult to make out. When entering the city a group of people blocked the way for our bus and started breaking the windows. Some of them entered the bus and asked the driver if there were Armenians among us. He answered that there weren't. I got off the bus and went on foot. Passing near the 3rd district I saw a big group of people going towards the house number 17/33 B where a friend of mine, Lyudmila Mejlumyan lives. I was worried for their lives and hurried there to see if they had broken into their apartment. When I approached their house I saw someone being beaten by a group of people gathered in front of it. But it was impossible to see the one being beaten. There were a lot of people gathered around. I rushed to Mejlumyan's apartment, the door was open. There were around 2-25 people inside; everyone was hanging around, everything was broken. I entered the room at the end of the corridor. I saw 10-15 people unknown to me near the exit to the balcony. I do not know what was happening on the balcony, it could not be seen. I went to another room, and saw 3-4 people dragging Marina Mejlumyan and one Russian girl from under the bed. Marina presented herself as an Azerbaijani, and they did not touch her. I helped the girls, they got dressed and we went out of the apartment. I was about to take them out of the building when I saw a big group of people going up the stairs. Seeing this I started to knock the doors of the apartments on the 3rd or 4th floor. One woman opened the door, I pushed the girls inside and asked her to shelter them for some time. I myself sat on the stairs in front of the apartment for 15-20 minutes. I felt bad, what I saw affected me badly. Slowly I recovered. One of the people coming up, asked me to present my documents. I said that I did not have any with me. Then he asked, how I could prove that I was not an Armenian. I told him that I can show him if he comes to my house. Then he stopped questioning. I waited for some time and went out and saw Karina Mejlumyan just near the entrance. She was unconscious, badly beaten and absolutely naked. I took her, pulled her inside the building. After some

time she woke up. I stood her up and took her to one of the apartments, I don't remember which. Then I went outside, stood there for some time and smoked. Apartments in one of the neighbouring houses were being raided. I went up to the apartment where I left Karina. Her sister Marina and her parent were also there. Lyudmila was not there, and her mother asked me to find her. Just at that moment Lyudmila came herself. She was also badly beaten. I remembered that once I came to the Mejlumyans' apartment, I saw an old man near the stairs. He was covered in blood and I thought it was Lyudmila Mejlumyan's father. I think there was no one near him. That's all I have seen in the Mejlumyans' house..."

VICTIM'S INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

29 August 1988.

From the testimony of Lyudmila Grigoryevna Mejlumyan given to the inspector of the investigative group of USSR Prosecutor's office S.G. Kamagin: "... A man, approximately 30 years old, entered the room. He was tall, but maybe I am mistaken, because I was on my knees. His face was clean; his moustache was yellowish, maybe because of smoking. He had dark eyes. He wore a black coat and a white shirt. In his hand he had a folder, I guess, for paper. When he came into the room, all the others (I mean those who had broken into our house) fell silent; Muradov Vadim approached him and called him by his name, which I do not remember. He took our gold things which they had stolen and said to him: "See what I took from them." That man took some of the gold and said: "Enough, much blood was spilled here already, let's move out." Without any other word, immediately, people started to exit the apartment. He also left. Three men stayed in the room, I hadn't seen them before. One of them approached me and spoke in Armenian: "Sister, I myself came from Armenia not long ago, I hate them too. We are now going to the 3rd block. You should find a hammer and nails to hammer in the door. They can return." He helped me to dress, as I could not do this myself- my whole body was in pain, hands were shaking. Then he put the apartment door back and asked me to bring a hammer and nails. I went to the balcony; there shards of glass injured my feet, as I was barefoot; I came back with empty hands. Then

the man asked if some of the neighbours could shelter me and took me out of the apartment. We went down to the 4th floor, he rang the doorbell of the Aghayevs' apartment; they opened the door, he told them something and they let me in..." It is enough to carefully read this testimony of victim Lyudmila Grigoryevna Mejlumyan several times to understand that the unrests on 27-29 February 1988, in Sumqayit were not merely acts of hooliganism. It can be clearly seen that this was a well-planned action guided and controlled by the organizers of this events. We will comment on a few points in Mejlumyan's testimony.

1) The perpetrators of these slaughters, its executors, were not all neat, well dressed and good looking. In the final phase of the raids, assaults and robberies, a "30 year old man" different from the others in the crowd came in. His appearance even attracted the attention of the beaten, assaulted and humiliated Armenian girl Ludmila Mejlumyan: "tall, dark eyed, clean faced, in a white shirt, black coat holding a folder"..." An episode we can see only in literature: a savage crowd of monsters and villains with their victims on the one side and a civilized, authoritative person on the other?! Clearly he's an emissary: an authority who controls the situation and knows what has to be done at a given time! Very strange that the investigative team of the USSR Prosecutor's Office didn't pay attention to this fact. Who was this young man? Unknown. Never identified by the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

2) There was a Russian among the raiders- Vadim Muradov. He is the one who talks to the young man who enters the room. He addresses him by name, reports to him, meaning that he knows him. Who is this Muradov and how is he connected? Also unknown. Never identified by the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

3) The looters and raiders in the apartment fall silent when the young man enters the room, they wait for his instructions and obey him when he tells them to leave the apartment. So, either everyone knows him or Vadim Muradov plays a role of coordinator. This is also unknown. Never identified by USSR Prosecutor's Office.

4) After everyone leaves, three men stay in the room. They came to the apartment later and started to help and care for the beaten and humiliated victim Lyudmila Mejlumyan. They speak Armenian with her, help her to get dressed, protect her. (First wanting to hammer the door, then taking her

to the neighbours). Who is this man? Unknown. Never identified by the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

5) The man helping Lyudmila Mejlumyan knows exactly which house, which apartment will be plundered next ("...we are now going to the 3rd block"). Doesn't this show that the assaults were planned? Unknown. Never identified by USSR Prosecutor's Office.

Many of the defendants who participated in the Sumqayit events were under the influence of Grigoryan. Those who stood before the court had their punishment. Do their actions, murders and judgement make them proud, or they are tormented by their consciences? It is hard to believe that these people even had consciences. These villains are inhuman savages. The human is the most important being in creation. Raising your hand against a human being is the greatest sin before God. Let us see the actions of some of the vilest criminals.

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89

ПРОКУРАТУРА СОЮЗА ССР

Следователь по особо важным делам
при Генеральном прокуроре Союза ССР

УГОЛОВНОЕ ДЕЛО

№ 18\55461-88

ПО ОБВИНЕНИЮ:

САФАРОВА НИЗАМИ СУМБАТ огла по ст. ст. 67, 72, 94 п. п. 2, 6, 7, 109 ч. 3, 144 ч. 3, 144 ч. 4, 145 ч. 2 п. п. 1, 2, 8 УК Азербайджанской ССР

МАМЕДОВА ГАЛИБА ГАДИРШАХ огла по ст. ст. 67, 72, 109 ч. 3, 144 ч. 3, 144 ч. 4, 145 ч. 2 п. п. 1, 2, 8 УК Азербайджанской ССР

ГУСЕЙНОВА ВАГИФА ВАХАБАЛИ огла по ст. ст. 67, 72, 94 п. п. 2, 6, 7, 15, 94 п. п. 2, 8, 144 ч. 3 УК Азербайджанской ССР

НАДЖАФОВА НАДИГА АХМЕДХАН огла по ст. ст. 67, 72, 94 п. п. 2, 6, 7, 15, 94 п. п. 2, 8, 109 ч. 3, 144 ч. 3 УК Азербайджанской ССР

ГАНДЖАЛМЕВА ЭЛЬЧИНА АЛИ огла по ст. ст. 67, 72
УК Азербайджанской ССР

ИСАЕВА АФСАРА ИСЛАМ огла по ст. ст. 67, 72, 94, п. п. 2, 6, 7, 109 ч. 3 УК Азербайджанской ССР

ГРИГОРЯНА ЭДУАРДА РОБЕРТОВИЧА по ст. ст. 67, 72, 94 п. п. 2, 6, 7, 15, 94 п. п. 2, 8, 109 ч. 3 УК Азербайджанской ССР

471
1988

ТОМ № 31 15/545
05.1.88

г. СУМГАИТ — 1989 г.

С. Канер
руч. 8.

ЗІІ.

ГРИГОРЯН ЭДУАРД РОБЕРТОВИЧ,
16 декабря 1959 года рождения,
уроженец г.Сумгаита Азербайджанс-
кой ССР, армянин, беспартийный,
образование среднее, женат, имеет
на иждивении двоих несовершенно-
летних детей, прописан по адресу:
г.Сумгаит, 2-й микрорайон, ул.Ми-
ра, дом 19/13, кв.20, фактически
проживает по адресу: г.Сумгаит,
1-й микрорайон, дом 122, кв.71,
работает слесарем стана 140 на
Азербайджанском трубопрокатном за-
воде, судим: 1. 17 декабря 1976
года Сумгаитским горнарсудом по ст.
207 ч.3 УК Азерб.ССР к 3 годам ли-
шения свободы условно; 2. 30 янва-
ря 1981 года Сумгаитским горнарсу-
дом по ст.105 УК Азерб.ССР к 1 го-
ду исправительных работ с удержани-
ем 20% заработка; 3. 5 апреля 1982
года Сумгаитским горнарсудом по ст.
ст.108 ч.2, 143 ч.2, 215-3 ч.2, 215
УК Азерб.ССР к 5 годам 2 месяцам 13
дням лишения свободы, -

О.Б.В.И.Н.Я.Е.Т.С.Я в том, что он, ранее неоднократно судимый за
различные преступления, 28 февраля 1988 года в гор.Сумгаите принял
непосредственное участие в массовых беспорядках, сопровождавшихся
погромами, разрушениями, поджогами и другими подобными действиями,
в микрорайонах и кварталах города, в ходе которых совершил ряд пре-
ступлений против личности и личной собственности граждан армянской
национальности, а также действия, направленные на разжигание нацио-
нальной вражды и розни.

Преступления Григоряном Э.Р. совершены при следующих обстоя-
тельствах.

От совокупности причиненных Григоряном Э.Р., Сафаровым Н.С., Гусейновым В.В. и другими повреждений, приведших к травматическому шоку, Григорян Э.Ш. 29 февраля 1988 года скончалась.

Этими действиями Григорян Э.Р. совершил преступление, предусмотренное ст.94 п.п.2, 6, 7 УК Азербайджанской ССР – умышленное убийство из хулиганских побуждений, с особой жестокостью, сопряженное с изнасилованием и с целью сокрытия совершенных преступлений.

Совершив умышленное убийство Григорян Э.Ш., в этот же день, 28 февраля 1988 года, примерно в 22 часа, Григорян Э.Р., Мамедов Г.Г. Гусейнов В.В., Наджафов Н.А. и другие учинили погром квартиры № 58 в доме № 33/14 в I микрорайоне города, в которой проживала семья армянской национальности Петросян. Григорян Э.Р.; вооруженный топором, вместе с другими участниками погрома ворвался в эту квартиру. Увидев в квартире Петросяна Манвела Шамировича, Григорян Э.Р. с целью умышленного убийства, из хулиганских побуждений топором нанес ему удар по голове. Однако умысел на убийство Петросяна М.Ш. Григорян Э.Р. не довел до конца по причинам, не зависящим от его воли и желания, поскольку потерпевший Петросян М.Ш. в момент нанесения удара, защищаясь от нападения, молотком ударил Григоряна Э.Р. по руке, в которой был топор. В связи с этим удар пришелся не лезвием, а обухом топора по голове потерпевшего, причинив Петросяну М.Ш. в теменной области черепно-мозговую травму с сотрясением головного мозга, по степени тяжести отнесенную к легким телесным повреждениям с кратковременным расстройством здоровья. От полученного удара Петросян М.Ш. потерял сознание, упал на пол, не подавал признаков жизни. Решив, что Петросян М.Ш. убит, Григорян Э.Р. прекратил в отношении него дальнейшие действия.

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Этими действиями Григорян Э.Р. совершил преступление, предусмотренное ст.ст.15, 94 п.п.2, 8 УК Азербайджанской ССР, - покушение на умышленное убийство из хулиганских побуждений, совершенное лицом, ранее совершавшим умышленное убийство. ✓

Принимая 28 февраля 1988 года в городе Сумгаите активное участие в массовых беспорядках, Григорян Э.Р. неоднократно призывал группу хулиганствующих лиц учинять погромы квартир граждан армянской национальности. Кроме того, находясь среди многочисленной группы хулиганствующих лиц, своими действиями, выраженными в демонстрационной форме, направленными на погром квартир и имущества граждан только армянской национальности Межлумян, Григорян, Есеян, Петросян, умышленное убийство граждан армянской национальности Григорян Э.Ш., Петросян М.Ш., тем самым по существу проводил агитацию с целью возбуждения национальной вражды и розни между гражданами армянской и азербайджанской национальностей, подрывал доверие и уважение к лицам армянской национальности, вызывал чувство неприязни к ним.

Обвинительное заключение составлено "29" марта 1989 года в гор.Сумгаите Азербайджанской ССР.

Следователь по особо важным делам
при Генеральном прокуроре СССР
старший советник юстиции



В.С.Галкин

Prosecutor's Office of the Union of the SSR

**Investigator of especially important cases
under the Prosecutor General of the Union of SSR**

CRIMINAL CASE

No 18\55461-88

On charges:

SAFAROV NIZAMI SUMBAT oghlu under Art. 67, 72, 94 (2), (6), (7), 109.3, 144.3, 144.4, 145.2 (1), (2), (8) of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR

MAMMADOV GALIB GADIRSHAH oghlu under Art. 67, 72, 109.3, 144.3, 144.4, 145.2 (1), (2), (8) of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR

HUSEYNOV VAGIF VAHABALI oghlu under Art. 67, 72, 94 (2), (6), (7), 15, 94 (2), (8), 144.3 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR

NAJAFOV NADIR AHMADKHAN oghlu under Art. 67, 72, 94 (2), (6), (7), 15, 94 (2), (8), 109 (3), 144.3 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR

GANJALIYEV ELCHIN ALI oghlu under Art. 67, 72 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR

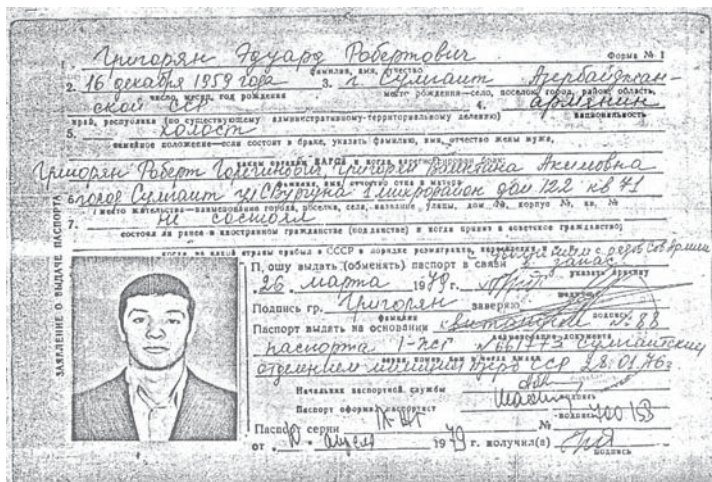
ISAYEV AFSAR ISLAM oghlu under Art. 67, 72, 94 (2), (6), (7), 109 (3) of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR

GRIGORYAN EDUARD ROBERTOVICH under Art. 67, 72, 94 (2), (6), (7), 15, 94 (2), (8), 109 (3) of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR

VOL No 31

GRIGORYAN EDUARD ROBERTOVICH,

Born on 16 December 1959 in the city of Sumqayit, Azerbaijan SSR. Armenian. Non-party person, has secondary education, married, has two minor children, registered at the address: 19/13 Peace Street, apt 20, 2nd district, Sumqayit.



In fact, resides at the address: 1st district, 122, apt 71, Sumqayit. Works as a locksmith at mill No 140 at the Azerbaijan Tube Rolling Plant, previously convicted: 1. On 17 December 1976, by the Sumqayit city People's Court under Art. 207.3 of the CC of Azerb. SSR and sentenced to 3 years suspended imprisonment; 2. On 30 January 1981, by the Sumqayit city People's Court under Art. 105 of the CC of Azerb. SSR and sentenced to 1 year of corrective labour with reduction of 20% of salary; 3. On 5 April 1982, by the Sumqayit city People's Court under Art. 108.2, 143.2, 215-3.2, 215 of the CC of Azerb. SSR and sentenced to 5 years 2 months and 13 days imprisonment –

IS ACCUSED that he, previously repeatedly convicted for various crimes, on 28 February 1988, took direct part in riots in the city of Sumqayit accompanied by pogroms, destruction, arson and other such actions in the districts and the estates of the city, during which he committed a range of offences against the person and the private property of citizens of Armenian nationality, as well as actions directed towards inciting ethnic hatred and discord.

The offences were committed by Grigoryan E.R. in the following circumstances.

As a result of the aggregate damage caused by Grigoryan E.R. together with Safarov N.S, Huseynov V.V. and others that brought on traumatic shock, Grigoryan E.S. died.

By these actions Grigoryan E.R. committed an offence under Article 94 (2), (6), (7) of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR – premeditated murder committed from motives of hooliganism, committed with special cruelty, involving rape, and with intent to conceal the crimes committed.

After committing the murder of Grigoryan E.S., the same day on 28 February 1988, approximately at 22.00, Grigoryan E.R. together with Mammadov G.G., Huseynov V.V., Najafov N.A and others committed a massacre in apartment No 58 in the building No 33/14 in the 1st District of the city where the Petrosyan family of Armenian nationality resided. Grigoryan E.R., armed with an ax together with other participants in the massacre broke into the apartment. When he saw Petrosyan Manvel Shamirovich in the apartment, Grigoryan E.R. struck his head with the axe with intent to murder, committed from motives of hooliganism. However, Grigoryan E.R. was not able to complete the murder of Petrosyan M.S. for reasons beyond his control, because Petrosyan M.S. defended himself with a hammer and struck Grigoryan's hand in which he held the axe. Thus, the strike was not made with the blade of the axe, but with its head on the parietal area of the head of the victim, Petrosyan M.S., causing traumatic brain injury with concussion that in severity was classed as light injury with short-term health effects. After the strike, Petrosyan M.S. fell down, lost consciousness and made no signs of life. Gregoryan E.R. decided that Petrosyan M.S. was dead and stopped actions against him.

With these actions, Grigoryan E.R. committed a crime under Article 15, 95 (2), (8) of the Criminal Code of Azerbaijan SSR - premeditated murder committed from motives of hooliganism, committed by a person who had previously committed premeditated murder.

By taking active part in riots occurring on 28 February 1988 in Sumqayit, Grigoryan E.R. repeatedly summoned groups of hooligans to commit massacres in apartments of citizens of Armenian nationality. Further, being in a large group of hooligans, by his actions he expressed in demonstrative form and directed raids on the apartments and the

properties of Mejlumyan, Grigoryan, Yeseyan and Petrosyan, citizens of Armenian nationality and premeditated murder of the citizens of Armenian nationality Grigoryan E.S. and Petrosyan M.S. and with these actions, in fact conducted agitation with the purpose of the incitement of ethnic enmity and hatred between citizens of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationalities, and undermined the confidence of the people of Armenian nationality and caused feelings of hostility towards them.

The indictment is drafted on 29 March 1989 in Sumqayit, Azerbaijan SSR.

Investigator of especially important cases
under the Prosecutor General of the Union of SSR
Senior Counselor of Justice
Galkin

V . S .

Note: Regarding the riots carried out in Sumqayit, Azerbaijan SSR on 27-29 February 1988, Eduard Robertovich Grigoryan is accused under article 67 (violation of the equality of ethnic and racial rights), 72 (rioting), 94 (premeditated murder with aggravating circumstances), paragraph 2 (murder committed from motives of hooliganism), paragraph 6 (murder committed with special cruelty and by a method dangerous to the life of several people), paragraph 7 (murder of person with rape), article 109 (rape committed by a group) of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan SSR.

ПРОТОКОЛ
ПРЕДЪЯВЛЕНИЯ ЛИЧНОСТИ ДЛЯ ОПОЗНАНИЯ

Гор. Кафан

22 января 1989 года

Начато в 19 часов 50 минут

Окончено в 20 часов 45 минут

Следователи следственной группы Прокуратуры Союза ССР Лукирич Василий Григорьевич и Макрушин Сергей Николаевич с участием прокурора-криминалиста Прокуратуры Армянской ССР Гульназаряна Рафаэля Оксеновича, в присутствии понятых:

1. Магасаряна Алика Гургеновича, проживающего в городе Кафане по ул. Маркса, дом № 40, кв. 22
2. Давтяна Лйвы Шавовича, проживающего по адресу: г. Кафан ул. Арутюнян, дом № 12, кв. 5

с соблюдением требований ст.ст. 155 и 157 УПК Арм.ССР в помещении Кафанского ГОРОВД предъявил для опознания потерпевшему Петросяну Манвелу Шамировичу / другие установочные данные в деле имеются / два видеофильма на одной кассете с видеозаписью 57 / пятидесяти семи / лиц мужского пола, часть из которых причастна к массовым беспорядкам в городе Сумгаите. Первый видеофильм был снят 2-го ноября 1988 года, второй 3-го, 4-го и 11 ноября 1988 года о чём составлены два протокола с указанием анкетных данных опознаваемых. В первом видеофильме снято 22 лица, во втором - 35.

Вышеперечисленным лицам, согласно ст. 160 УПК Арм.ССР разъяснено их право присутствовать при всех действиях следователя и делать заявления по поводу этих действий, подлежащие занесению в протокол. Понятым, кроме того, разъяснена на основании ст. 128 УПК Арм.ССР их обязанность присутствовать при производстве следственных действий и подписью удостоверить, что изложенное в протоколе соответствует действиям следователя и результатам этих действий.

1. Л. Шамирович
2. С. Николаевич
3. В. Григорьевич

-2-

Перед началом следственного действия потерпевшему Петросяну Манвелу Шамировичу разъяснено его право давать показания на родном ему языке, на что он ответил: "Показания желаю давать на русском языке и не возражаю если протокол будет составлен также на русском языке."

В соответствии со ст. 149 УПК Арм.ССР потерпевшему Петросяну Манвелу Шамировичу были разъяснены его обязанности и он предупрежден об уголовной ответственности за отказ или уклонение от дачи показаний и за дачу заведомо ложных показаний по ст.ст. 196 и 197 УК Армянской ССР

 Петросян М.Ш.

После этого участникам следственного действия сообщено, что в процессе опознания будет применяться видеозапись.

Потерпевшему Петросяну разъяснено, что помимо протокола следственного действия его показания будут записываться на видеопленку "Панасоник М-7" с использованием видеокассеты ВК-180.

Затем потерпевшему Петросяну М.Ш. была воспроизведена видеозапись с изображением мужчин без головных уборов и ему было предложено указать лиц, которых он может опознать и объяснить по каким приметам и особенностям он опознаёт их.

Петросян М.Ш. в ходе просмотра видеозаписи указал на лицо под № 5, попросил остановить кадр и пояснил: "Я узнал этого человека под № 5".

Вопрос следователя: Вы знаете этого человека?

Ответ потерпевшего: Да, это Григорян Эдуард.

Вопрос следователя: Поясните вкратце, что он делал в Вашей квартире

Ответ потерпевшего: В нашу квартиру он пришёл 28 февраля 1988 года. Сначала они сломали дверь. Я в это время находился в прихожей. Для самозащиты у меня в руках был молоток. У Григоряна в руках был топор, которым он замахнулся на меня. В этот момент я его ударил молотком по руке. Топор в руках Григоряна повернулся и ударил меня обухом по голове. У меня пошла кровь. Я упал на пол и потерял

57
- 3 -

сознание. Что было дальше не помню. Без сознания я находился примерно 40 минут. До удара Григоряном меня по голове он давал команды тем, кто вместе с ним ворвались ко мне в квартиру. Вопрос следователя: Сколько раз Григорян бил Вас топором по голове. Ответ потерпевшего: Григорян бил меня топором по голове один раз.

Других лиц потерпевший Петросян М.Ш. не опознавал.

После просмотра видеозаписи следственного действия от участников опознания замечаний, дополнений и жалоб не поступило.

Протокол следственного действия нами прочитан. Дополнений, замечаний и жалоб по поводу произведённого следственного действия и содержания протокола не имеем.

Опознающий: Петросян М.Ш.

Понятые: А.Ф.В. В.Г.

Прокурор-криминалист: А.С.

Опознание провели:

Следователи следственной группы
Прокуратуры Союза ССР

Макрушин С.Н.

Лукирич В.Г.

Translation into English

**FROM THE PROTOCOL OF
PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION**

The town of Gafan,
22 January 1989.

Started at 19:50

Ended at 20:45

Investigators of the investigation group of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office, Lukirich Vasiliy Grogoryevich and Makrushin Sergey Nikolayevich, with the participation of the prosecutor-criminologist of the Prosecutor's Office of Armenia SSR, Gulnazaryan Rafael Oksenovich, and the witnesses:

1. Magasaryan Alik Gurgenovich, resides at 40 Marx Street, apt 22, the town of Gafan;
2. Davtyan Lyola Shavovich, resides at 12 Arutyunyan Street, apt 5, the town of Gafan

In observation of articles 155 and 157 of the CPC of the Armenian SSR, at the premises of the Gafan Department of Internal Affairs, one tape with two video films was shown to the victim, Petrosyan Manvel Shamirovich / other detailed information of the case was provided / the video shows 57 /fifty seven/ men, some of whom had been involved in the riots in the city of Sumqayit. The first film was made on 2 November 1988, the second was made on 3, 4, and 11 November 1988. And this is detailed in two protocols containing personal information about the people who were identified. There were 22 people in one video and 35 people in the second one.

In accordance with article 160 of the CPC of the Armenian SSR, it was explained to the witnesses that they had the right to participate during all the actions of the investigator and make statements about those actions that should be added to the protocol. Further, in accordance with article 128 of the CPC of the Armenian SSR, it was explained to the witnesses that they had a responsibility to participate during the investigative actions

and confirm with their signature that all the information provided in the protocol corresponds with the actions of the investigator and the outcomes of these actions.

Before beginning investigative actions it was explained to the victim, Petrosyan Manvel Shamirovich, that he had right to testify in the language that he considers native and he responded: "I want to testify in Russian and have no objection either to drafting the protocol in Russian."

In accordance with article 149 of the CPC of the Armenian SSR, it was explained to the victim, Petrosyan Manvel Shamirovich, that he carried a responsibility and he was warned about the criminal responsibility for rejecting or refusing to testify and for obviously false testimony in accordance with Articles 196 and 197 of the CPC of the Armenian SSR

_____ Petrosyan M.S.

After this, the participants in the investigation were informed that the video tape would be used in the process of identification.

It was explained to the victim, Petrosyan, that as well as the protocol of the investigative action, his testimony would be filmed with a Panasonic M-7 camera on BK-180 tape.

The victim Petrosyan M.S. identifies the accused Grigoryan E.R.

Then, the video record of bareheaded men was shown to the victim, Petrosyan, and he was invited to indicate the people he could identify and to explain the signs and features that he recognized.



Потерпевший Петросян М. Ш. опознает обвиняемого Григоряна Э. Р.

In the process of screening the video, Petrosyan M.S. recognized person No 5 and asked it to be paused and explained: “I recognized person No5”

The investigator’s question: Do you know this person?

The victim’s answer: Yes, this is Grigoryan Eduard.

The investigator’s question: Explain briefly, what he did in your apartment.

The victim’s answer: he came to our apartment on 28 February 1988. First, they broke down the door. At that moment I was in the hall. I had a hammer in my hand for self-defence. Grigoryan had an axe in his hand that he swiped at me. I struck his hand with the hammer. The axe in Grigoryan’s hand turned around and struck my head on the side. I was bleeding. I fell down on the floor and lost conciseness. I don’t remember what happened then. I was unconscious for about 40 minutes. Before striking me on the head, Grigoryan was ordering the others who broke into my apartment what to do.

The investigator’s question: How many times did Grigoryan strike your head with an axe?

The victim’s answer: Grigoryan struck my head once.

The victim Petrosyan M.S. did not recognize other people.

After watching the video, there were no comments, additions or complains from the participants in the identification.

The protocol of the investigative action was read. We do not have any comments, additions or complains regarding the investigative action conducted.

The identifying person: _____ Petrosyan M.S.

Witnesses: _____

The prosecutor-criminologist _____
The identification was conducted by:
Investigators of the investigation group
of the Prosecutor's Office of the Union of SSR

Makrushun S.N.
Lukirich V.G.

...the Armenian nationalists, political scientists, writers, pro-Armenian forces and the 'fighters' struggling for Nagorno-Karabakh seeing these facts would understand that Grigoryan was not 'a myth thought up by Azerbaijanis'. Grigoryan is a criminal, the articles under which he was charged are clear. In such a situation, we wonder how would Armenian people class such a criminal, furthermore, committing such grave crimes against his own nationality? Perhaps they really view positively Grigoryan's violence against Armenians. Because it was necessary to create a 'genocide' in Sumqayit, and they organized it through Grigoryan. Then what was the outcome? Two nationalities confronted each other, a war began, thousands of young soldiers sacrificed their lives for their motherland. How can our weeping mothers forgive those who ordered it and stayed in the shadows? It is impossible. Because unjust war never brought honour to any nation and will never do so. The Armenian people should seriously think about this.

... The crimes committed by Eduard Grigoryan during the riots perpetrated in Sumqayit were exposed and proven by the Prosecutor General's Office of the USSR.

As stated above, investigators in Ancient Rome kept to a principle in their everyday work: *If a crime is committed, do not look for the perpetrator from the beginning, look for those who benefited from it.*

One of the important objectives is to determine the identity of E.R. Grigoryan and clarify who got advantage of the crimes committed in Sumqayit.

The Academician Ziya Bunyadov was the first one who informed the readers about active participation of Edik who had nickname "Pasha" in the riots. More comprehensive information is provided in the book "Armyane

v Sumqayite” (“Armenians in Sumqayit”) published in November 1994. The author of the book published in ten thousand copies, chose three photos related to E.R. Grigoryan from the criminal case No 18/5546-88 that was led by the Prosecutor General’s Office of USSR and placed them with appropriate comments on the pages 137-139:

1.) The photo of E.R. Grigoryan, 2.) The photo reflecting recognition of E.R. Grigoryan by the victim L.G. Mejlumyan, 3.) The photo reflecting recognition of E.R. Grigoryan by the victim M.S. Petrosyan.

In recent years, it is possible to see these photos together with the comments in the books and web pages devoted to this topic. More comprehensive information is now given about the identity of E.R. Grigoryan (see: A.Ismailov, T. de Waal, I. Mammadov, and etc.).

On the other hand, Armenian and pro-Armenian writers try to prove that one of the active persons in the riots in Sumqayit Eduard Grigoryan did not participate there, with this purpose, they find false evidences about it. They increase their activity in such directions like trying to prove that his mother was Azerbaijani and that his nationality is registered as Azerbaijani in the passport.

The author of the series of articles devoted to the events in Sumqayit, to tell the truth, the articles that misrepresented the real essence of these events, a person whose surname is Pandukht wrote an article titled “Edik Grigiryan. Ravenchaniye mifov azerpropa” (“Edik Grigoryan. Exposure of the myths of Azerbaijani propaganda”) that is full of libel, if we say in his words, he begins the article with one more Armenians style myth: “Already for 20 years since beginning of the contemporary stage of the Karabakh movement the propaganda machine of Azerbaijan filled the world with anti-Armenian falsehood and slander. There are only a few individual enthusiasts among us (i.e. Armenians. – E.M., R.M.) who work on exposure of the Azeri-Turkic mythology and falsehood”. “The individual enthusiasts” mean that, first, there are just a few people who work in this sphere. The second, they are not organized, each acts in the he considers it correct. It appears that the Azerbaijani side acts in an organized programmed, well-measured way, however, Armenian side is not organized. They do not have any programs, sometimes, some individuals write what they want. Of course, it is a myth! Unfortunately, a part of

readers of the article believe in this, they compassion to Armenians, and, at least, they think: “poor Armenians!”

The tragedy of the Armenian nation originates not from the causes shown by Pandukht, but from the absolutely contrary causes. Even “in the mid and late 19th century, the Armenian sly boots directed all their power and property to poisoning the minds of the young generation and tried to create confrontation, they developed the ideas of the embryo plan fermented with the pretext of “Great Armenia”

The life shows us that these “individual enthusiasts”, exactly them, laid the foundation of the future endless tragedies. We would like to present a small part of them from the list provided in the book of Arif Mansurov “Beliye pyatna istorii i perestroika” (“The white spots of the history and the perestroika”, Baku, Yazichi publishing house, 1990).

You may see who are those “individual enthusiasts” of Pandukht.

Please:

Agravyan Avetis Garib, (1866-1948)) – poet, bourgeois nationalist, one of the leading members of the “Dashnaktsutyun” party. He was a chairman of the National Council of Armenia (1917) and the chairman of the parliament of the Armenian Republic (1919). With support of A.Mikoyan, was occupied with anti-Soviet activity, fostered the agents for the fifth column in USSR.

Adonts Nikolay Ter-Avetikyan, (1871-1942) – historian, the author of “scientific works” perverting the history of Azerbaijan and Georgia. Member of the “Dashnaktsutyun” party.

Aknuni, Khachatur Malumyan (1860-1915) – journalist and publicist, one of the ideologists of the Dashnaktsutyun Party.

Akop-Pasha, Gazaryan (1833-1891) – usurious merchant, Minister of Finance of Turkey, one of the founders of the Gnchak party.

Alpoldjan Arshak (1879-1962) – historian, after 1925, moved from Turkey to the United States, one of the founders of the “Andronik” club Los Angeles.

Andreasyan Andranik (1909-1988) – writer, in 1928, moved from Turkey to the United States, worked as an editor in the nationalist newspapers, many times was in the Soviet Armenia. Is founder of the “Young Armenian Writers” school. The followers of his ideas M.Shaginyan, Raffi,

Sero Khanzadyan, Zori Balayan, Vardges Petrosyan, Silva Kaputikyan, Mikail Shatiryan, and others are fostered by that school.

Arpiaryan Arpiar (1851-1908) – writer - publicist, literary critic. Founded the reactionary organization “Armenian Ararat” in 1876. He cooperated with the pro-Dashnak newspaper “Mshak” published in Tbilisi. One of the famous figures in the “Gnchak” party.

Boyadcan Akop – famous merchant, the deputy from the city of Van in the Ottoman parliament.

Boyadcan Ambartsumyan (Murad, 1860-1915) – One of the big functionaries of the “Gnchak” party, active organizer of the massacre of Muslims in the city of Samsun in Turkey (1893). In 1894, he was convicted and sent to the city of Tripoly. In 1906, he escaped from there. In 1908, became a deputy in the (lets remember Gdlyan, Igidyan, and Ambartsumyan). He abused the high status of the member of parliament and organized the Armenian partisan attacks against the government of Turkey.

Varandyan Mikayel (Oganesyanyan, 1884-1934) – One of the ideologists of the Dashnaktsutyun part. He possessed the documents discrediting the agent of the secret police Anastas Mikoyan who betrayed the 26 Baku Commissioners. Was murdered by the Agents of Stalin in Paris.

Varjapetyan Nerses (1837-1889) – Armenian patriarch. While living in Istanbul (Konstantinopolos), he wrote secret letters to the Tsar of Russia, governments of England, France and the United States and asked them to force Turkey to establish the state of “Great Armenia”. In fact, he was one of the active members of the Armenian fifth column in Turkey.

Vratsyan Simon (1882-1969) – Inveterate ideologist of the Dashnaktsutyun party. In the period when he worked at the position of the head of government of the Soviet Armeina, in January and February 1921, organized massacres against Azerbaijanis in Armenia, Zangazur, and Karabakh. He escaped to abroad, since 1926, he was a secret counselor of the US State Department on the Near East. As an illegal advisor of A.Mikoyan and I. Stalin, was an author of the idea of first deportation of Akhiska Turks (1943-1944), deportation of Chechens and Ingushs (1942-1943), Crimean Tatars (1942), and, finally, Azerbaijanis from Armenia (1947-1948).

Garanjan Gevorg Arutyunovich (Arkomed, 1861-1936) – One of the organizers of the Gnchak party, advisor of Stepan Shaumyan. After establishment of the Soviet power in Armenia, with the decision of the Gnchak party, he stayed to work in Yerevan, he was professor of the Yerevan University. One of the authors of the myth about the role of A.Mikoyan in killing of the Baku Commissioners.

Dadyan-pasha, Arutyun (1830-1901) – writer, active member of the Dashnaktsutyun party. In 1880-1901s, occupied a responsible position at the Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Yeprem (Yeprem Davidovich Davtyan, Yeprem-khan, 1868-1912) – active participant of the brigands attacks to the peaceful Turkic villages, in 1905-1911s, in Iran, he was head of the large group consisting of Armenian “volunteers”.

Yerukhan, Yervand Pogosovich Srmakeshkanlyan (1870-1915) – writer and publicist, author of several works: “How we can gain liberty”, “The history of Turks”, “The origin of Armenians”, and etc. The Soviet Armenian publicists and writers used the main thesis of his works.

Zavriyev, d-r Akop Zavaryan (1875-1920) – One of the leaders of the Dashnaktsutyun party, its famous active ideologist, and active figure. In 1905, he organized the “Baku events” together with his close associate S.Shaumyan when the massacres of the Azerbaijani population had been committed in Yelizavetpol, Tiflis, Yerevan and Karabakh. He was an assistant of the Russian General Governor in Arzurum (1918), entered the fighting organization of Armenian extremists

– “The National Bureau”.

Karo Sasuni – Ideologist of the Dashnaktsutyun party, lead the anti-Soviet rebellion in Armenia in January-March 1921. Under his leadership, ten thousands of Georgians, Turks, and Azerbaijanis had been killed in Zakavkazia.

Kachaznuni, Ovanes (1868-1937) – The famous member of the Dashnaktsutyun party, the first Prime Minister of the Dashnak government. After establishment of the Soviet power in Armenia, he changed his political views in the age of 52 (seemingly! - author) and began exposing the policy of Dashnaks. He is author of the book “There is nothing to do for Dashnaktsutyun any more”.

Manukyan Aram (Sarkis Ovanesyan, Aram-pasha, Vanetsi Aram (1879-1919)

– one of the leaders of the rebellion of Armenians in Van (April, 1915) and one of the organizers of massacres against Turkic population. He was Minister of Internal Affairs of the Armenian Dashnak government.

Paramaz, Matevos Sarkisyan (1863-1915) – The famous figure of the Gnychak party. Active participant of the Armenian freedom movement. In June 1915, he was executed in Konstantinopolos for organization of the riots and massacre against the peaceful population.

Pogos Nubar – Pogos-pasha Nubaryan (1851-1930). The Catholicos of all Armenians Gevork V appointed him as a head of the Armenian national delegation for conducting negotiations with the governments of the Western countries about the issue of Armenian reforms (1912-1913) and the future of the “Great Armenia”. In June 1926, he was an active participant of the attempt to the life of the President of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk in Izmir. He betrayed his partners in crime (from them 15 people had been sentenced to death), and spent rest of his life at his villa as a under house arrest.

Portukayan Mkrtich (1848-1921) – The famous ideologist of the Nationalist Dashnaktsutyun party. He founded the “Armenia” newspaper in France (Marseille, 1885-1923). The newspaper published materials calling up for establishing the state of “Great Armenia” by the way of armed struggle against the governments of Turkey and Russia. M.Portukayan, his brother-in-law and his friends, founded the “Armenikan” party – the first Armenian nationalist chauvinist party in Van (1885). He was called by his associates because of hiding the income of the party.

Teyleryan Sogomon Khachaturovich (1896-1960) – merchant, he murdered Talat-Pasha in Berlin (March, 1921). In 1930s, he secretly moved to USSR, when it was revealed that he has relations with the First Secretary of the CC of the Armenian CP Khanjan, he escaped with assistance of the candidate for the membership to the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU A.Mikoyan. In 1956, Teyleryan published his “Memoirs” in Cairo, however, he hid his contacts with A.Mikoyan.

Khatisov Aleksandr Ivanovich (1874-1945) – Member of the Kadet party, one of the leaders of Dashnaktsutyun party, head of the party in Tiflis (1910-1917). He was Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Dashnak

government, chairman of the Soviet of Ministers (1918-1920). In order to hold the power in Baku he gave advices to S.Shaumyan, G.Melikyan, T.Amiryana, and A.Mikoyan.

Khrimyan Mkrtych (1820-1907) – clergyman, the famous figure of the movement of “volunteerst”, The patriarch of Konstantinopolos (1869-1873).

Chobanyan Arshak Ovanesovic (1872-1954) – famous writer, literary critic, and journalist. Member of the Ramkavag party, editor of the journal “Anayit” (Paris, 1898-1911s). many times came to USSR with invitation of A.Mikoyan.

Shakhrikyan Arutyun (Atom), (1860-1915) – Famous figure, the ideologist of the Dashnaktsutyun party. He was arrested during the riots against Turkic villages in Arzinjan and was submitted to the Caucasus military field court led by the General Orshelidze.

Shmavon Gabriel Kafan (Kafyants), 1860-1930) – One of the active participants of the Armenian “revolution” and the Gnchak party. He entered the II International. After the failure of the plans on establishment of the “Great Armenia”, he said: “Having a look at the history, we can say for sure that, the Tsarist government and Russian patriarchs instigated us – Armenians from the very beginning...” these words belong to him. (p.90-96)

We can continue this list. But what is already written is enough for the natural question to appear at the readers’ minds: Indeed, do Armenians who have so many and so inveterate nationalsit ancestors would like to refer their dirty actions to the “individual enthusiasts”?

It would be appropriate to inform Mr. Pandukht that Sero Khanzadayan, Bagrat Ulubabyan, Sergey Ambartsumyan, Viktor Ambartsumyan, Vardges Petrosyan, Silva Kaputikyan, Karen Damirchiyan, Sergo Mikoyan, Zori Balayan, Henrikh Pogosyan, Dadamyan, Igityan, Suren Zolyan and other “-yans” may be added to this list of “individual” Armenians that in a planned way conducted the continuous struggle for establishing the “Great Armenia”. These “individual” Armenian nationalists and inveterate chauvinists are the active members of the “Karabakh Committee” and “KRUNK”. Besides, if we will dd the titles of tremendous number of members of the nationalist separatist organizations acting in more than 60 countries of the world, don’t you think, Mr. Pandukht that suddenly reducing such a great amount of people to “individual enthusiasts” is a real myth?

On 7 July 1990, the “New York Times” newspaper published an “Open Letter to the World Community” signed by 133 famous right defenders, scientists and public figures from Europe, Canada, and US. It is stated in the letter that, the massacres are committed against Armenians on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR, that this is continuation of the “genocide” policy, and it was required to prevent such events in the future and to condemn blockade of Armenia by Azerbaijan.

However, there was no even a word about the savageries committed on the territory of Armenia SSR against Azerbaijanis. Maybe Mr. Pandukht considers those hundreds of world known people an “individual enthusiasts”?!

Those who make such “writings” along with slandering against Azerbaijan, should also understand that all these are first of all, and ideological strike to their nation. It is a sort of political boomerang. Pandukht and others like him, should know it very good.

УГОЛОВНЫЙ КОДЕКС АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ ССР

*(с изменениями и дополнениями
на 1 января 1984 года)*



АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО
Баку • 1984

М а д д а 66. Башга зəһмəткешлəр дəвлəти əлєјһинə тəрəдилəн хўсуси тəһлўкəли дəвлəти чинајəтлəр—Азəрбајчан Республикасынын 1993-чў ил 27 январ тарихли гану-ну илə чыхарылмышдыр (108).

II. Саир дəвлəти чинајəтлəр

М а д д а 67. Милли вə ирги нўгуг бəрəбəрлијини поэма

Милли вə ја ирги дўшмənчилик вə ја əдəвəт салмаг, милли шəрəфи вə лəјагəти алчалтмаг мəгсəдилə гəсдəн едилмиш хəрəкəтлəр, елəчə дə ирги вə ја милли мənсу-бијјəтиндən асылы олараг вəтəндашларын нўгугларын бирбаша вə ја долајысы илə мəһдудлашдырма, јахуд да бирбаша вə ја долајысы илə ўстўнлўклəрини мўəјјən етмə—

ўч илəдəк мўддəтə азадлыгдан мəһрум етмə илə чəзаландырылыр.

Зоракылыгла, алдатма илə вə ја хəдəлэрлə, елəчə дə вəзифəли шəхс тəрəфиндən едилмиш ејни хəрəкəтлəр—

беш илəдəк мўддəтə азадлыгдан мəһрум етмə илə чəзаландырылыр.

Бу маддəнин биринчи вə икинчи һиссəлəриндə нəзəрдə тутулмуш хəрəкəтлəр бир груп шəхс тəрəфиндən едилəрсə вə ја адамларын хəлак олмасына вə ја башга ағыр нəтичəлэрə сəбəб оларсə—

он илəдəк мўддəтə азадлыгдан мəһрум етмə илə чəзаландырылыр (91, 103, 112, 114).

М а д д а 67-1. Дəвлəт органларын вə ичтимаи тəш-килатлары тəһгир етмə вə ја нўфуздан салма—Азəрбајчан ССР Али Совети Рəјасəт һєј'əтинин 1989-чу ил 11 август тарихли фəрманы илə чыхарылмышдыр (92).

М а д д а 68. Дəвлəт сиррини јайма

Дəвлəт сиррини тəшкил едən мə'луматларын, бу мə'луматлар етибар едилəн вə ја гуллуғ, јахуд ишинə кəрə она мə'лум олан шəхс тəрəфиндən јайылмасы, Вəтəнə хəјанəт вə ја часуслуг əламəтлəри олмадыгда—

етмә вә ја әмлакы мүсәдирә олунмагла вә ја олунмамагла өлүм чәзасы илә чәзаландырылыр (98, 112).

М а д д ә 71. Контрабанда

Контрабанда, јә'ни Азәрбајчан Республикасынын көмрүк сәрһәддиндән әшјаларын күлли мигдарда, ја да контрабанда илә мәшғул олмағ үчүн тәшкил едилмиш бир дәстә шәхс тәрәфиндән көмрүк нәзарәтиндән кәнарда вә ја ондан кизли кечирилмәси, еләчә дә наркотик васитәләрин, күчлү тә'сир едән, зәһәрли, зәһәрләјичи, радиоактив, партлајычы маддәләрин, силаһын вә дөјүш сурсатынын (мүвафиг ичазә олдуғда, јивсиз ов түфәнкиндән вә онун үчүн дөјүш сурсатындан башга) бу чүр кечирилмәси—

әмлакы мүсәдирә едилмәклә үч илдән он иләдәк мүддәтә азадлығдан мәһрум етмә илә чәзаландырылыр (4, 67, 97, 112).

М а д д ә 72. Күтләви игтишаш

Талан, дағытма, одлама вә башга бу кими һәрәкәтләрлә едилән күтләви игтишашын тәшкили, һабелә онун иштиракчылары тәрәфиндән јухарыда көстәрилән чинајәтләрин билаваситә едилмәси вә ја онларын һакимијјәтә силаһлы мүғавимәт көстәрмәси—

ики илдән он беш иләдәк мүддәтә азадлығдан мәһрум етмә илә чәзаландырылыр.

М а д д ә 73. Азәрбајчан Республикасынын Силаһлы Гүввәләри сыраларына һәгиги һәрби хидмәтә нөвбәти чағырышдан бојун гачырма

Азәрбајчан Республикасынын Силаһлы Гүввәләри сыраларына һәгиги һәрби хидмәтә нөвбәти чағырышдан бојун гачырма—

беш илдән сәккиз иләдәк мүддәтә азадлығдан мәһрум етмә илә чәзаландырылыр.

Ејни әмәл өз бәдәнинә хәсарәт јетирмә вә ја өзүнү хәстәлијә вурма, сәнәдләри сахталашдырма вә ја саир алдатма јолу илә, һабелә башга ағырлашдырычы һалларда едиләрсә—

једди илдән он иләдәк мүддәтә азадлығдан мәһрум етмә илә чәзаландырылыр (97, 111, 112).

*Үчүнчү фәсил***ШӘХСИЈӘТ ӘЛЕЈҲИНӘ ОЛАН ЧИНАЈӘТЛӘР****М а д д ә 94. Ағырлашдырычы һалларда гәсдән адам өлдүрмә**

Гәсдән:

- 1) тамаһ мәгсәдилә адам өлдүрмә;
- 2) хулиганлыг нијјәтилә адам өлдүрмә;
- 3) зәрәр чәкмиш шәхси өз гуллуғ вә ја ичтимаи вә-
зифәсини јеринә јетирмәсилә әлағәдар өлдүрмә;
- 4) ики вә ја бир нечә шәхси өлдүрмә;
- 5) мүгәссир үчүн ашкар сурәтдә һамилә вәзијјәтиндә
олан гадыны өлдүрмә;
- 6) хүсуси амансызлыгла вә ја бир чох шәхсин һәјаты
үчүн тәһлүкәли олан үсулла адам өлдүрмә;
- 7) башга чинајәти кизләтмә вә ја онун едилмәсини
јүнкүлләшдирмә мәгсәдилә, һабелә зорламагла әлағәдар
адам өлдүрмә;
- 8) хүсуси тәһлүкәли ресидивист тәрәфиндән, јахуд
әввәлләр гәсдән адам өлдүрмүш олан шәхс тәрәфиндән
өлдүрүлмә, бу Мәчәлләнин 96, 97 вә 98-чи маддәләриндә
нәзәрдә тутулмуш өлдүрүлмәләр истисна олмагла—
сәккиз илдән он беш иләдәк мүддәтә азадлыгдан мән-
рум етмә вә ја өлүм чәзасы илә чәзаландырылыр (62).

М а д д ә 95. Гәсдән адам өлдүрмә

Бу Мәчәлләнин 94-чү маддәсиндә көстәрилән ағыр-
лашдырычы әләмәтләр олмадан гәсдән адам өлдүрмә—
једди илдән он беш иләдәк мүддәтә азадлыгдан мән-
рум етмә илә чәзаландырылыр (68).

**М а д д ә 96. Ананын јени доғдуғу ушағы гәсдән
өлдүрмәси**

Ананын јени доғдуғу ушағы доғум вахты вә ја била-
васитә доғумдан сонра гәсдән өлдүрмәси—
үч иләдәк мүддәтә азадлыгдан мәнрум етмә илә чә-
заландырылыр.

**CRIMINAL CODE
OF THE AZERBAIJAN SSR
(with amendments on January 1, 1984)**

Article 67. Violation of the national and racial equality.

With the purpose to foment national or racial hatred and discord, humiliation of national honor and dignity, or direct or indirect limitation of the rights of the citizens based on their nationality, or either directly or indirectly determining their prevalence –

is punished by the imprisonment for the term of up to three years.

The same actions committed with violence, fraud or threat, as well as by the official –

is punished by the imprisonment for the term of up to five years.

If the actions provided in the part 1 and part 2 of this article would be committed by a group of persons or will cause death of people or other heavy

consequences –

is punished by imprisonment up to ten years (91, 103, 112, 114).

Article 72. Riots

The organization of riots accompanied with breaking, arsons, destruction and other such actions and direct participation in the abovementioned crimes or resistance to representative of authority –

is punished by imprisonment for the term from two up to fifteen years.

Article 94. Deliberate murder under aggravating circumstances

Deliberate:

- 1) Murder committed on mercenary prompting;
- 2) Murder committed from hooligan prompting;
- 3) Murder of a person in connection with implementation of his/her service activity or performance of public duty;
- 4) Murder of two or more persons;

- 5) Murder of a women, which was obviously for guilty pregnant;
- 6) Murder committed with special cruelty or in publicly dangerous way;
- 7) Murder with the purpose to hide other crime or to facilitate its commitment, as well as connected with rape;
- 8) Murder committed by a particularly dangerous recidivist or a person who committed a crime before, except for murders provided in the article 96, 97, and 98 of this Code –
is punished by imprisonment for the term from eight up to fifteen years or by death penalty (62).

Let's closer acquaint with Grigoryan Eduard Robertovich who was charged under the above provided articles of the Criminal Code of Azerbaijani SSR and brought to criminal prosecution.

Information provided by the relative, neighbours and people who knew Eduard Grigoryan about him:

The words of Samokhvalova Irina Alekseyevna, the neighbour of Grigoryans:

Samokhvalova Irina Alekseyevna

Was born in Baku, on May 18, 1935.

Is a citizen of the Azerbaijani Republic.

Lives in Sumqayit since 1955.

From her testimony given as a witness on April 22, 2010, during interrogation conducted by the **investigator for particularly important cases of the Investigation Department of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, Mammadov Elman Alikram oghlu:**

“... I was born in the Bilajari settlement of the city of Baku and lived there until 1955. After getting married to the presently deceased Samokhvalov Sergey, I moved to the city of Sumqayit and I began working here at the tube rolling plant. In 1972, I took position of the Inspector of the Executive Committee of the city of Sumqayit and worked at this position until 1992, i.e. until retirement. I have one daughter who was born in 1956. She completed her higher education in Leningrad. After graduating the institute she stayed there, presently resides in the city of Gatchina”

In 1971, together with my husband, we received an apartment in Sumqayit at the address 1st micro-district, building No122, apt 15. At the same time, the family of Grigoryan received an apartment in the same building. We knew this family before. Because, Eduard's mother Valentina Grigoryan also worked at the tube rolling plant together with me. I don't remember exactly in which workshop Valentina worked, but I know it for sure that they received the apartment in our building because she worked at the tube rolling plant. I don't remember her husband's name, he was disabled, both his legs were amputated... Because Valentina's husband

was disabled he could not fully work, however, he worked as a shoemaker. But I felt that the income of Valentina and her husband was not enough for sumptuous living of this large family and they always faced financial difficulty. Notwithstanding this, there were normal relations between the spouses. I often visited them and never witnessed any quarrel or a conflict in their family. After the man's death, the financial situation in the family became worse. Because Valentina was always at work, her children Eduard, Edik, Tigran, their sister Venera and other children whose names I don't remember spent all their time self-willed in the street. Children grew up without control and upbringing, they had no interest in education. As far as I know, none of them graduated even the 10th grade. The girls in the very early age began to show interest in the opposite sex, and the boys began gradually being involved in criminal sphere. I felt that when my daughter Janna returned from Africa with presents. At that period, these presents had a certain value. Eduard that took advantage of my husband's being naïve and trustful, began often coming to our apartment with the pretext of playing chess. But I saw Eduard's unhealthy interest in the presents that my daughter brought and tried to put an end to his visits.

As to the Eduard Grigoryan's chauvinist attitude towards other nations, I never felt that. Sumqayit was always an international city and the person who grew up in such environment can never be nationalist. The rumors about that hatred of Eduard towards Armenian nation appeared because his father left their family are absolutely groundless. As I told before, the relation of the father with the mother of Eduard Grigoryan Valentina were absolutely normal until his death. In about 1983, Eduard had been prosecuted because of stealing from the neighbour Alenina Galina's apartment and was imprisoned for 4 or 5 years.

Approximately in the late 80s, before the riots, the situation in the city was aggravate. It was caused by the fact that there were many Azerbaijani refugees expelled from Armenia. They gave information about the savagery and insults they faced, that they were unlawfully deported by Armenians. I would like to mention that aggravation of situation in the city happened as if in the same scenario. Instigating propagating talks, slogans, shouts, spontaneous meetings had been managed by the people I did not know. I think, these people were neither locals nor refugees from Armenia. I can justify my opinion saying that the people who came from Armenia looked

very poor even worse than the poorest people in Sumqayit. But those who led those meetings were all tall and well-dressed persons and they could attract the attention of masses. At the same time I may show that they were not the officials of the city either, because I knew most of the officials as I worked at the city executive committee. At that time, I began noticing certain changes in the behavior of Eduard Grigoryan. I often saw him surrounded by boys of different nations. He was speaking loudly and tried to attract attention of the people around him and behaved very impudently. I thought that his behavior is related to the gaps in his upbringing. At that time, I could not even imagine that he will actively participate in the riots, rape women, kill people, and become a criminal in the future.

I heard the information about arrest of Grigoryan from mass media. It was said, he was leading the burglars groups and participated in murdering people of Armenian nation and raping women. These news were proof of my doubts that the events in Sumqayit were a provocation controlled from the outside. By comparing the facts that I knew, and linking the instigating behavior of the unknown people and riots with the following events, I made such an unambiguous conclusion that all these events served the purposes of the certain nationalist circles of Armenia. At the same time, before these events, many Armenians who saw that the situation is becoming intense left the city. My acquaintances and many people at work and in the transport told about it. Many of them based on the information they obtained from their relatives and friends said that persons of Armenian nation withdraw their money from the savings bank and it becomes widespread.

Even after the Eduard's arrest, I asked his mother Valentina, how Eduard could commit these terrible actions. And she answered that her son was influenced by others. I accepted these words as empty excuses and did not deeply think about clarifying what she meant by those words. During the riots, I did not see Grigoryan, because these events took place at the 3rd micro-district. There were riots and pogroms neither in our building nor in the neighbouring buildings. Therefore, I cannot explain in details actions of Grigoryan and the people surrounding him during these events. But, after these riots people told that before and during these events, unknown people distributed alcohol and drugs to the people. Notwithstanding that, personally I was not an eye-witness of those events, I think that these things happened, because it is impossible to explain such cruel actions of burglars in other way".

Mahomedov Rashid Rasul oghlu

served his sentence in the colony

together with Eduard Grigoryan

Was born on April 7, 1964.

Address: 6 Ahlimanov street, apt 72,

Hovsan settlement.

Nationality: tabasaran;

(In 1983, served his sentence together with Eduard Grigoryan at the various barracks in the colony No 3 at the Gobustan Settlement of the Garadag district of Baku, had no relations).

From his testimony given as a witness on April 12, 2010, during interrogation conducted by the **investigator for particularly important cases of the Investigation Department of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, Mammadov Elman Alikram oghlu:**

"I could not be in close relations with Eduard because of his impudence, arrogance, and boastfulness.

In his free time, Eduard was making sports, power lifting, demonstrated karate, tried to break the wood tiles with his elbow. The main peculiarities of his behavior: impudence, arrogance and arrogant speech with other prisoners, leadership claims...

He was demonstrating karate with nun chucks. I do not know who allowed to make and openly use them in the prison. The prisoners Murad and Azad were close with Grigoryan. I do not know their surnames, but they made sports together... Azad was a good expert on karate.

Grigoryan did not have relations with other prisoners of Armenian nation.

As to Murad's words, Eduard hated all Armenians, because his father left his mother, him, and his brother alone.

Murad said that, Eduard is going "to execute" Armenians, and he said that...

In 1987, after being released, I haven't met Eduard Grigoryan and did not have any contacts with him."

Novruzov Marahham Shadatulla oghlu

Was born on February 12, 1964.

Is habitant of Sumqayit.

From his testimony given as a witness on April 28, 2010, during interrogation conducted by the **investigator for particularly important cases of the Investigation Department of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, Mammadov Elman Alikram oghlu:**

“Eduard Grigoryan together with his family lived in the 5th block. His mother Valentina worked at the tube rolling plant. Eduard and his brothers Tigran, Albert, and Erik were criminals. Persons who did not look like locals often visited Eduard, majority of them were in black slickers”

Jalilov Anatoliy Rafi oghlu

Was born in Gasim Ismailov region (present Goranboy region - author) on December 24, 1935

Is habitant of Sumqayit.

From his testimony given as a witness in April 2010, during interrogation conducted by the **investigator for particularly important cases of the Investigation Department of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, Mammadov Elman Alikram oghlu:**

“in the days when situation in Sumqayit became intense, E. Grigoryan often was not in the yard of the building he lived in. The neighbours said that he often goes to Nagorno-Karabakh, Dagestan, Russia. Many times, people saw him with unknown people. Those people did not look like the locals.

Nothing happened on the territory of the 1st micro-district. The events mainly took place in the 2nd and 3rd micro-districts.

In order the readers could better know Eduard Grigoryan, we think it is necessary to present a record provided by the military service department.

Случайная характеристика
на Редового Григория
Эдуарда Робертовича, с
1953 года рождения,
армянина.

За время прохождения службы с
ноября 1978 года по март 1979 года
Редовый Григорий Э.Р. выполнял работу
с обвиняемыми в совершении. За время
короткого времени службы за ним
были замечены незначительные по отно-
шению к сержантам. Но его личным
он требует от него больше чем посто-
янно. В беседе со старшим урядом
деловодства Редовый Григорий Э.Р. высказал
мнение. Особо это касается, когда
ему что-то приказывают делать. Капитан
двух раз к старшему, а просто не
любил работать. В коллективе
деловодства много было людей его
как лидера. Постепенно он начал
показывать себе среди сослуживцев
личным умом и "везением". Много
деловодства высокомерно и сослуживцы
Редовый Григорий Э.Р. в адрес коллег.

Характеристика написана по слову
заместителя начальника по командному составу
команды деловодства, где в свое время
проходил службу Редовый Григорий Э.Р.

Написана 5-го апреля

Вотского состава 58172

подполковник Цурганов А.П. (подпись)

С характеристикой согласен.

ВРИ (подпись) / Маммадов /
58172
28.9.88



SERVICE RECORDS

Is given to soldier Grigoryan Eduard Robertovich, born in 1959,
of Armenian nationality

The soldier Grigoryan E.R. was in the military service from November 1978 to March 1979 showed himself from the negative side. During a short period of being in the military service the roughness in treatment of Chuvashs had been revealed. As to him, he was not well approached. He was distinct with his irritability and nevrosity in his intercourse with people older than him. It happened when someone gave him various orders and he refused to subordinate.

We could consider him as a leader in the group. Among the soldiers he tried to show himself as smart and well-informed person. Sometimes, he approached his fellows with arrogance. Knows Russian very well.

Note: the record is made based on the words of the Deputy Commander on Political Issues of the battalion at the time when Grigoryan E.R. served.

**Head of the 5th division of the military unit No 58172,
lieutenant-colonel**

I. Pugovkin

I agree with the record.

**Acting head of headquarters of the military unit No 58172
Moiseyenikov**

28.09.88.

Let's pay attention to one more fact. After being arrested, E. Grigoryan was kept in the prison No3. Head of the operational department of the prison Suleymanov Alihuseyn Suleyman oghlu during his testimony given to the representatives of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's office stated that, tht he met Grigoryan at the prison. "He behaved very roughly, shamelessly, he was very arrogant prisoner. He liked to be a leader. He tyrannized over the weak ones". It is seen from the testimony of A. Suleymanov, that after the known events that took place in Sumqayit in

February 1988, in March and April, he was invited to the Azerbaijan SSR State Security Committee, the representative of the former USSR State Security Committee that asked questions about Eduard Grigoryan, was interested in the operational case raised regarding E.Grigoryan and as a result of the conversation, it became clear to him that, E.Grigoryan is a person who closely cooperated with the former USSR Security Bodies.

Here, it becomes clear that E.GRIGORYAN could not be an ORGANIZER of the events in Sumqayit. he was just an EXECUTOR. He was implementing instructions of those who ordered and organized.

FROM THE TESTIMONIES OF THE ACCUSED PERSONS ABOUT EDUARD GRIGORYAN

1. Mammadov Qalib Gadirshah oghlu.

July 8, 1988.

**Investigator: An investigator of the investigation group
of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office, Lukirich V.G.**

(from the 1st interrogation)

“After burning the car, our group gathered again and here Grigoryan Eduard Robertovich made an announcement and said approximately the following: “Here I will be your leader. I know where to go, everybody, follow me!” At first, as I told before, it seemed to me that Grigoryan is Russian. Only during the investigation I knew that he is Armenian. After that, all the members of our group whom I mentioned before followed Grigoryan Eduard and we went to the 3rd micro-district that situated in front of the main bus station...

... After the building where our group raped the girls, we went to the building No 6/2. I don't know how it happened, but Grigoryan Edik took us there. Grigoryan decisively walked in front of us and all the rest followed him. When we went from one building to another Grigoryan Edik hid the ax under his jacket. When we came close to that building, many people already stood there. The guys from our group stopped in front of the 1st block of the building No 6/2. Grigoryan Eduard when he saw that, he ordered: “Battalion, follow me!” and made a few steps forward. Then he returned and saw that we are standing, he nervously said: “What, are you afraid? Follow me!”

After that, we all followed Grigoryan and entered the first block and went upstairs to the second floor...”

July 25, 1988.

Investigator: An investigator of the investigation group of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office, Lukirich V.G and Aliyev A.A.

(from the 2nd interrogation)

“...After Grigoryan declared that he will be our leader, he took a few pills from his pocket and put them into his mouth. Then he said that these pills cheer up and inspire. Then, he distributed the pills to all of us. He gave me four of them. And gave to all in approximately the same amount. I did not ask Grigoryan what are were these pills, because everybody took the pills and ingested them. And I did the same, in about half an hour, I felt that my body is growing and I got power, all around me seemed small, and it even seemed to me that the buildings are coming over me. The pills distributed by Grigoryan looked like a simple pills: white, in flat and round form. Under the impact of those pills, I was ready for everything, to implement all the orders. And mainly Grigoryan himself gave orders...

... When our group was near the bust station, more exactly near the fountain, in about ten meters far from us, there were two persons standing among the people. I saw that, went to them 3 or 4 times. I don't know what they were talking about, Grigoryan did not give us any information about that...

I just can say about those two people to whom Grigoryan went, that I remembered one of them as of medium height and another one was a bit smaller. Both of them had big bodies, black haired, but their hairs were lighter than mine. I don't remember their other features. I cannot say for sure that they were Armenians, because I did not have contacts with them. However, I heard that they are talking with Grigoryan in Armenian. After the pills had an effect, Grigoryan went to them and they talked a bit in Armenian. I don't know Armenian, therefore, I cannot say what Grigoryan was talking with them about.

I haven't seen those to people in Sumqayit before, I think they were Armenians. I think that they were comers from somewhere. After Grigoryan talked to them a bit, he returned to us and said again loudly, in order they could hear: “Dubí poydut za mnoy”(i.e. “the dullards will

follow me.”- author). First, I did not understand to whom these words were addressed. But now I can say that when saying “the dullards will follow me” Grigoryan Edik talked about us. Thus, after taking the pills, I was ready for everything. Apparently, the pills distributed by Grigoryan equally affected all the members of our criminal group. I haven’t seen those two people with whom Grigoryan talked after February 28, 1988”.



One of the buildings in the 3rd micro-district. The events mainly took place at this area.

August 30, 1988.

**Investigator: An investigator of the investigation group
of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office, Lukirich V.G.**

(from the 3rd interrogation)

Question: - in the interrogations conducted on 8-9 July, you listed the names of persons together with whom you participated in the riots that took place in the city of Sumqayit on 28 February 1988. Who directed the actions of the group in which you participated as well, was there any group leader? Clarify it.

Answer: - In the previous interrogations I testified that, for the first time, I met with the group consisting of young men near the bus station at about 16.00. I cannot say exactly at what time the group gathered. A group of young people was standing near the fountain, and I saw Eduard Grigoryan in the center. Then, I thought that he is a group leader. Later, near the fountain, Eduard Grigoryan announced that he will lead the group. When he said that he knows where we should go and what to do, I understood that he was leading the group that I also entered. In the whole process of riots Eduard Grigoryan was always in front and nobody debated with him. I don't know if Grigoryan knew where Armenians live in advance, however, he took us to their apartments correctly. When our group stopped in front of the 1st block of the building No 6/2 in the 3rd micro-district, Grigoryan ordered: "Battalion, follow me!" When we hesitated, Grigoryan accused us of cowardice and said: "What are afraid of, come on!", then we all followed Grigoryan without hesitation. In our group Eduard Grigoryan behaved absolutely free and independently. It was obvious from his behavior that he considers himself a ruler in this situation.

...I already said in the previous interrogations and want to confirm it again. I am very sorry for the events that took place, I repent for my actions and concerned about my fate. If there would not be Safarov that took me with himself for committing a range of crimes and Eduard Grigoryan that lead us, I would not commit these grave crimes...

... I did not have any purpose when participating in the riots. I was under influence of the mass and act as others did. Now I feel guilty for

those actions. I would like to say that my actions were not deliberate, therefore, I ask you to take into account my confessions in the future. I agree to receive any punishment for the criminal actions I committed in order to become a full member of society of my Motherland and I am ready to redeem my fault.

Question: have you ever met with the participants of the riots that you listed, after February 28?

Answer: No, I did not meet with them. I don't have any common interest with them. As I told in the process of investigation, I did not know the members of the group before, except for Safarov Nizami. I did not try to meet with them. I don't know if they wanted to meet with me. Since the next day after riots, i.e. from 29 February till 27 May of the current year, when I was arrested I worked at the construction department No 21".

II. Huseynov Vagif Vahabali oghlu.

25 July 1988-ci il.

Investigator: An investigator of the investigation group of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office, Major D.Bayramov (from the 1st interrogation)

Question: - do you want to add something to your testimony?

Answer: - Yes, I do. I would like to tell about one more fact. May be this fact would be interesting for the investigation.

On 27 February 1988, I came to Nadir from the Jorat settlement. When I came close to the Nadir's block, I saw that there are two guys standing near the building No 122. They were speaking Armenian, that is why they attracted my attention. I could not understand anything from their speech in Armenian. I also did not know whom they are waiting for. One of the guys was of about 28-20 years old, he was tall and medium build, had round face, black moustache and beard, his hairs were a bit curly, he had a fluffy waistcoat and a hat on his head. The second guy was of about 25-26 years old. He aslo was tall, medium build, his face was thin and shaved, he had black moustache and strait hair..

When we went out together with Nadir they already left.

The next day, i.e. on 28 February I saw one of them, the one with waistcoat, near the bust station. He was in the group and it was surprising that he instigated the guys to the riots in a pure Azerbaijani. I remember some of his words. He said: "Son of a bitch! They became shameless, they kill Azerbaijanis and we don't know what they want. We should turn out them from here. Later they will come from Yerevan and tell us: Leave Sumqayit...".

...The same day, I again saw this guy in the waistcoat, but he was not alone, they were together with another one. When me, Nadir and other guys went out of the building No 6/2 in the 3rd micro-district, I saw those guys in front of the block. First, Grigoryan Edik with an axe in his hand went out of the building. When he saw those guys, he approached them and gave money and a bundle of paper to the guy in waistcoat. I don't know what was there in the bundle. The guy in waistcoat took what Edik gave him and put into the plastic bag that he had in hands. There was something

in the bag. Then, the guy asked Edik in Russian: “OK, how it’s going?” Edik answered: “everything is fine yet”, - and added smiling: “dubiny da vse (“they all are numskulls” - author) ”. I don’t know what did Edik mean by saying that. At that moment, the guy in waistcoat gave some pills to Edik. Edik took the pills and went towards the group surrounding the old woman...”

January 12, 1989.

Investigator: An investigator of the investigation group of the USSR General Prosecutor’s Office, Major D.Bayramov
(from the 2nd interrogation)

“Follow me!”, said Edik Grigoryan and entered one of the blocks of the building No 6/2. Then Nizami, Afsar, Nadir, Ilgar, a large group of people whom I did not know, entered the building. Then I followed them. I don’t remember exactly, we went upstairs to the 4th or 5th floor, and if I am not mistaken, we entered the apartment on the left. Later, during the investigation I knew that the family of Grigoryan Zema lived in that apartment.”

III. Safarov Nizami Sumbat oghlu.

June 22, 1988.

From the protocol of confrontation between Safarov Nizami Sumbat oghlu and Grigoryan Eduard Robertovich with participation of the investigator of the investigation group of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office, Lukirich Vasiliy Grigoryevich and Aliyev Anvar Aziz oghlu, prosecutor Spichka Vladimir Aleksandrovich, translator from Azerbaijani and Russian Namazova Saadat Ali gizi, and specialist on voice recording and video recording Dorovskikh Aleksandr Nikolayevich:

(1st confrontation)

Question of the prosecutor to the accused Grigoryan: - You are under investigation already for several months. The accused persons as well as victims also including people of Armenian nation show you as an active participant of all these crimes. These crimes include attempts to murder and rape. What can you say about it?

Answer of the accused Grigoryan: - About testimonies of the accused persons against me, I can say that they cast aspersions on me, because I am Armenian. I can say nothing about the civil persons who testify against me.

Question of the prosecutor to the accused Grigoryan: - Every accused person may take notes for himself. Do you take such notes?

Answer of the accused Grigoryan: - Yes, I do.

Question of the prosecutor to the accused Grigoryan: - Taking into account the state of the case, apparently, you are acquainted with majority of the materials. Think and testify, what did really happen on 28 February?

Answer of the accused Grigoryan: - I was not there, therefore, I cannot testify. If I would be there, I would bear testimony. I have nothing to hid.

Question of the prosecutor to the accused Grigoryan: - You mean, on 28 February you haven't been there at all?

Answer of the accused Grigoryan: - I was neither on 27 nor 28 February.

Question to the accused Grigoryan: - Do you have question to the accused N.S. Safarov?

Answer of the the accused Grigoryan: - Yes, I do.

Question of the accused Grigoryan to the accused N.S. Safarov: - At what date we met at the tea house to agree where and when we will go?

Answer of the accused N.S. Safarov: - In the evening on 27 February.

Question of the accused Grigoryan to the accused N.S. Safarov: - On 28 February at what time, when and where we met?

Answer of the accused N.S. Safarov: - We met at the tea house near the bus station. The tea man knows me, he can confirm that we met there at 15.00 and went out at 16.00.

Question of the investigator to E.R. Grigoryan: - Are you satisfied with answers of the accused N.S. Safarov?

Answer of the accused E.R. Grigoryan: - Yes, I am satisfied with answers of the accused N.S. Safarov.

January 12, 1989.

**Investigator: An investigator of the investigation group
of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office, Velikhanov N.A.**
(from the 1st interrogation)

Question: - Nizami Safarov, how can you explain that Grigoryan Edik, himself being of an Armenian nation, committed crimes against Armenians?

Answer: - I did not know that Edik is Armenian. I never seen his father. His mother is Russian and I always thought that he is Russian. Because he always spoke Russian. Sometimes, he even spoke Azerbaijani. And he always was on friendly terms with Azerbaijanis. Only during the investigation, I knew that he is Armenian and has Armenian surname. If I knew he was Armenian, I would not go with him to the robbery at that day. Because, if the group would know that he is Armenian, it would be very bad for all who were together with him as well. I don't know the real reason why Edik Grigoryann participated in the crimes against Armenians. But I think that, it did not matter for him for what reasons all these are happening. As me, he also wanted to gain something, doesn't matter at whose expense, either Armenians or Azerbaijanis. I think that all the guys who were with us, had the same purpose, to gain something".



Participants of the riots in Sumqayit
In the dock

IV. Isayev Afsar Islam oghlu

June 2, 1988

**Investigator: An investigator of the investigation group
of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office, Captain N.Shitnikov
(from the 1st interrogation)**

“... he (Eduard Grigoryan. – author) smelled alcohol, but, he was not drunk. Nizami and Nadir did not smell alcohol, however, their faces were running savage, their eyes got narrow and were sparkling, it looked like they took drugs. Najafov Nadir asked Grigoryan Edik, where we will go after. Grigoryan Edik took a checked copy book paper out of his pocket, there was written something with a ball-point pen. Part of the writing was crossed out. As I understood, there were addresses of the people of Armenian nation written on the paper and the crossed out addresses were the ones Grigoryan together with his group has already been. Edik looked to the list and said to the people around him “Battalion, follow me! One for all, all for one!” and went towards the buildings at the left from the school. I also joined the group following him...”

June 7, 1988.

(from the 2nd interrogation)

“... Grigoryan and Najafov told me that, they know the apartments of rich Armenians, there is a lot of money and we will take that money, that is why I joined them. And now I am sorry and repent for my actions. Also, I would like to say that, long before February 28, Grigoryan Edik, his brothers and Najafov Nadir kept the whole yard in awe. They beat people, frightened and robbed them. Every time when we together returned home from home, Grigoryan Edik told me that he knows many addresses of rich Armenians and it would be good if they would rob them. That is why, they were happy for the riots to take place and to rob those apartments benefitted from the riots on 28 February 1988.

... Grigoryan Edik and his brothers knew the karate holds very good and often, in the yard, they beat the guys a knew. And Najafov Nadir even boasted that he even beat on policeman and “robbed him”. All brothers of Grigoryan are violent criminals and all the people were afraid of them. Najafov Nadir was also like him. He also kept the whole yard in awe...”

June 21, 1988.

(from the 3rd interrogation)

... Question: - How can you characterize Eduard Grigoryan and what are your mutual relations?

Answer: - I knew Grigoryan Eduard long ago as a neighbour. All the habitants of the building where I lived together with my parents, the neighbours considered them as an unhappy family. Edik and his brothers were hooligans and even now people accept them as hooligans. Previously they have already been convicted. As all of them mastered the karate folds, they often quarreled. They kept the whole yard under fear. By the character, Edik is angry, cruel, and careful. As his brothers, he often was drinking alcohol. When he is drunk, it is better to evade him, because he did not understand anything and may just beat the person without thinking with a particular cruelty.

...Often, I saw that he has many pills. He called these pills “Parkopan”. Once, near me he took some of them and after a certain period he became mad, angry, and nervous. Once I saw that he beat a worker at the plant. He also took such pills to his brother Tigran, when he was at the hospital. Erik told me about it. But, I don’t know where he took the pills from, he did not tell anything about it...

June 22, 1988.

(from the 4th interrogation)

... then I came to the building of the “Kosmos” cinema that was situated in the 3rd micro-district. There, I saw my acquaintances, Grigoryan Edik, Huseynov Vagif, Najafov Nadir, and Safarov Nizami. I approached to them and greeted them. Grigoryan said with pride that he already raped and killed someone of the Armenian nation. Then Najafov Nadir told to Grigoryan to take out a paper from the pocket and look at it. That was a white checked paper, there was written something with a ball-point pen. But, I did not see exactly what was written there. Grigoryan attentively looked at the writings and ordered to all: “Let’s go!” When I followed Grigoryan, Nadir told me that if they will get money, they will also share with me. From the meeting place, our group went to the 3rd micro-district towards the living buildings. When we reached the building No 6/2, Grigoryan who walked in front, ordered to all: “Battalion, follow me!” and made a few steps. Then he returned and looked back, he saw that nobody is coming and shouted again: “What are you afraid of, come on!” Then, the whole group followed Grigoryan and entered the block. We went upstairs to the second floor. There were many people already. At the second floor, me, Edik Grigoryan and one more person from our group entered one of the apartments. Inside, Grigoryan Edik stroke an axe on the head of the owner of the apartment. He applied to Nizami Safarov and asked: “Nizami, is it third or fourth one?”. Answering the question, Nizami said: “I think it is third one, Edik”. When we were in the apartment, I saw a plastic bag in Nizami’s hands. I don’t know what he put into the bag, because, after Grigoryan stroke the man with an axe, I went out, went downstairs and stood in the yard. After fifteen or twenty minutes, Grigoryan went out of

the building together with other members of the group. When he saw me in the yard, he approached me angrily: “Where did you go?!”. After that, he wrapped up the axe with the paper and hid it. After the building No 6/2, we went to another building...”.

V. Ganjaliyev Elchin Ali oghlu.

September 28, 1988.

Investigator: An investigator of the investigation group of the USSR General Prosecutor's Office Melnikov A.Y.
(from the 1st interrogation)

“...on 28 February 1988, at about 16.00 I came to the monument of “International friendship”. Safarov Nizami, Grigoryan Eduard, Mammadov Galib, Isayev Afsar, and others were there. I can recognize them if I see. Here, Grigoryan Eduard gave us pills. These pills were in the size of one kopeyka and were white. I got two of them, and then I felt heat inside, I wanted to fight, as if I got power. We stopped a car “Moskvich” of green color. There was a woman driver and a girl was sitting near her. I don't remember who was sitting at the back seat. We checked the documents of those in the car, when we realized that they are Armenians, we began beating them. I punched the driving woman two or three time. Other guys also beat her. Then, police and civilian guy protected them...”

September 29, 1988

(from the 2nd interrogation)

“... here, near the monument of “International friendship”, Grigoryan told us that he has good pills, they cheer up. He took a few white pills in the size of one kopeyka out of his pocket. I took two of them. Besides me, Safarov Nizami and Mammadov Galib also took those pills. I don't know who else used them. In about twenty minutes after taking the pills, I felt their impact. I felt that my physical power increased. At that moment, I wanted to fight with someone.

... Grigoryan Eduard was distinct among them. I know him very good, he is Armenian. Grigoryan lived in the 1st micro-district and I often saw him there. He wore dark waistcoat and was bareheaded. I saw that he was hiding an axe with wooden handle under his waistcoat. I thought to myself that Grigoryan considers himself a leader among these guys and manages all of them. Later, I also saw it. Grigoryan walked in front of the group confidently, he told us in which apartments Armenians lived and was not mistaken. It was really as he said. Grigoryan gave orders to the group about where to go and what to do. In front of one of the buildings in the 3rd micro-district, Grigoryan applied to our group and the guys standing around and shouted: “Battalion, follow me!” and entered the block first. We all followed him...”

October 1, 1988.

(from the 3rd interrogation)

...on 28 February, at about 16:00, at the 3rd micro-district, in front of the “Book” store near the monument of “International friendship”, Grigoryan Edik said that he has good pills that cheer up the person. He took a few white pills out of his pocket with the size like one kopek. I took two of those pills. Besides me, Safarov and Mammadov also took those pills. In about twenty minutes, I felt the effect of the pills: as if my body became physically stronger. At that moment, I wanted to fight with someone. Then, I understood that Grigoryan regaled us with drugs.

...After the “Moskvich” car, our group went to the 3rd micro-district. Grigoryan, Safarov, and Mamadov directed our group. From them, I saw Grigoryan Eduard as a leader. Grigoryan always walked ahead and he showed the buildings and apartments where Armenians lived. And he always showed them correctly, as if he new everything in advance. In the 3rd micro-district, he stopped near one building and applied to our group he shouted: “Battalion, follow me!” and entered the block first. Everybody listened to him and we all followed him.

October 1, 1988.

(from the 4th interrogation)

“...in 1981, I graduated 8 grades school in Sumqayit. I was sent to Yalta for treatment because of illness. In 1981-1982, I received medical treatment in the Sanatorium for treating tuberculosis and diabetes. When I returned home after the treatment my parents told me that they registered me at the evening secondary school. They did not tell me which school and how they did it, and I did not ask. In 1986, someone brought a certificate about graduation of the secondary school to us. I knew about it from my parents. They did not provide details and I did not ask...”

Question: - give us comprehensive information about your talk with parents that took place when you returned home after attack on the apartment in the 1st micro-district.

Answer: - When I returned home, my parents asked me where I was for such a long time. I said that, I was in the 3rd micro-district. I was watching how others attack Armenians, burnt their things and beat naked women. I did not say that I participated in the criminal actions. When I was talking about the events, our neighbours from the apartment 39 were at our home and listened to me...

Just think: father and mother were hiding Armenians in their apartment, at this time, their son participated in robberies, murders and rapes against Armenians in the other building...

We would like to bring one more issue about Eduard Grigoryan to the attention of the readers. One of the authors of these lines – Eyrüz Mammadov remembered:

“In 1991, together with the well-known film director Davud Imanov we decided to make a documentary film in order to research the events that took place in Sumqayit. After having interviews with witnesses and participants, we were interested in Grigoryan. Eduard Grigoryan was convicted in Baku, and after one or two years, Armenian nationalists achieved to take him from Azerbaijan and transfer to one of the prisons in Russia. Before that, there was such a propaganda in the Armenian and pro-Armenian mass media as if

Grigoryan is subjected to torture in the prisons in Azerbaijan, that he is beaten and humiliated there.

With the help from Moscow, Armenians took Grigoryan to the city of Budyonosk in the Stavropol region, and placed him at the reformatory situated there. With a great difficulty, our group came to Budyonovsk and here we decided to meet with Grigoryan. The head of the reformatory displayed stubbornness. We did not blame him. He had reason for that. Thus, Armenian lobby, many times visited Grigoryan and forbade him to contact with anybody and to give interview to the journalists. And Grigoryan obeyed to their instructions. After “interesting” the head of the reformatory, he promised to appoint a meeting with Grigoryan. We should also mention that, Grigoryan’s wife Rita twice a month came to him and they stayed together in the ward for two nights.

Initially, Grigoryan really believed that we came from Moscow. But, at the end of the interview, he had doubt and began threatening us. We did not pay attention to his threats. When we were leaving he said: “We anyway will achieve our goal”.

E. Grigoryan giving interview to the journalists from Sumqayit at the prison in the city of Budyonovsk of the Stavropol region (1991)



FINAL OUTCOME

It is known that those who committed diversion in Sumqayit were the USSR State Security Committee, Armenian intelligence bodies and the extremist groups of the Dashnak party. The idea that the organizer of the actions committed in Sumqayit was one Armenian is nonsense, of course. It would be mistaken to think like that and make such assumptions. It became clear from the testimonies of witnesses that the separatist forces living and acting in Stepanakert and the activists of the “KrunK” society in Sumqayit closely assisted to Grigoryan. As organizing any riot is impossible in a few days, these events had been thought out, planned and their scenario had been drafted by the USSR State Security Committee and special service bodies of Armenia much earlier.

Grigoryan was acquainted with this scenario, long before. **The special service bodies of Armenia together with the USSR State Security Committee assigned him to conduct the operation under a special code title. The operation had been implemented under the title “NALYOTCHIK” (Burglar).**

It is possible to see such documents in the archive materials provided for the investigation. It becomes clear from the list drafted in Russian and attached to the page 146-147 of the operation case that, there was an extremist group consisting of about 40 Armenians managing the people committing the riots and teenagers. Already for 25 years, it was many times mentioned in the speeches related to this problem, in the mass media, and the published materials that, there was a large extremist group acting in Sumqayit and they committed the riots exactly as it was drafted in the scenario. **Several times we mentioned that and repeat it again that it is not correct to accept GRIGORYAN as an organizer.** He played a role of EXECUTOR.

Here we would like to clarify our opinion regarding one issue. Sometimes, we think, why Armenian nationalists, ideologists, writers and poets defend Grigoryan and conduct a large campaign against Azerbaijan. From this we may conclude that Armenian nationalists used Grigoryan as a “card” and tried to distract our attention from the main issue. By defending the criminal Grigoryan, Armenians wanted to hide the real those who

ordered and organizers of the events in Sumqayit. There is such a saying: “Everything needs time”. It is already known to all, who stood behind Armenians and who were the those who ordered and organizers of the events in Sumqayit. In this book, we attempted to give enough information about them.

There is another interesting document in the operation case titled “**NALYOTCHIK**” that worth attention. Head of the Armenian Church in Baku had negotiations with the Cathalicosis of the Armenian Gregorian Church Vazgen. It becomes clear from the archive materials that the leaders of the Echmiadzin Church unsatisfactorily evaluated the attitude of the Armenians of Baku towards the all-national idea and they accused them of being passive. It was mentioned that, if it will be needed, they will consider it necessary to sacrifice them for sake of the Armenian national idea.

In the process of riots, Grigoryan was leading the mass and the groups of burglars, he acted based on the special instruction given to him bu the Armenian special service bodies. Members of the “**NALYOTCHIK**” group helped him in this bloody action as well.

Who were the members of the group “Nalyotchik” (Brigand) that impersonated “Organizer” and closely provided assistance to Grigoryan?

Let’s know them better:

1. Grigoryan Albert Robertovich (brother of Eduard Grigoryan), distributed drugs to the teenagers and called for attacks against Armenians.

2. Grigoryan Tigran Robertovich (brother of Eduard Grigoryan), committed robberies. Is considered one of the active participants of riots.

3. Grigoryan Ernest Robertovich (brother of Eduard Grigoryan), participated in the riots, was arrested. Moved to Belarus after the arrest.

4. Saturyan Levon Akopovich, staff member of the Security Administration of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. Active member of the “Karabakh” committee. Dealt with slogans instigating national hatred and anti-Azerbaijan propaganda.

5. Sarkisyan Suren Yuryevich, member of the “Karabakh” committee, habitant of Stepanakert. In the city of Sumqayit, called the youth for riots and participated in robberies. Immediately after the events moved to Tashkent.

6. Markaryan Valeriy, habitant of Baku. Driver. In Sumqayit, hit 4 persons and killed by the bus he was driving and left Baku.

7. Mosesov Eduard Nikolayevich, correspondent of the “Communist” newspaper (in Armenian). Conducted photo and video recording of the events in Sumqayit.

8. Grigoryan A. correspondent of the “Communist” newspaper (in Armenian). Conducted photo and video recording.

9. Agadjanyan G. correspondent of the “Communist” newspaper (in Armenian). Conducted photo and video recording.

10. Grigoryan Benik Setrakovich, in the city of Sumqayit took out the household things from the apartment No 5 where he lived at the building 25e of the 9th micro-district as well the apartment No 59 of the building No 36 in the 9th micro-district where Babayan lived, burnt both apartments and put the plame on Guliyev Fakhraddin Ahad oghlu. (Witness Linok Tamara Ilinishna, habitant of the apartment No 59 of the building No 36 in the 9th micro-district).

11. Petrosyan Viktor Vartanovich, born in 1959, resided at the address 125/34, 1st micro-district, apt. 28. Instigated teenagers to conduct meetings in Sumqayit.

12. Petrosyan Vachik Vartanovich, was registered in the same apartment as his brother

13. Grigoryan Engels Cherkesovich, born in 1958, resided at the address 52, 9th micro-district, apt. 45. Actively participated in the riots in Sumqayit.

14. Davidyan Anatoliy Aramaisovich, born in 1955, resided at the address 5a, 1st estate, apt 21. Committed robbery in the 3rd micro-district in Sumqayit.

15. Zakharyan Aram Aganesovich, born in 1959, resided at the address 6, 11th micro-district, apt. 25. Actively participated in the riots.

16. Maryan Zoya - born in 1948, resided at the address 92a, 7-8-12 micro-district, apt. 35. Played a role of intermediary between Armenians in Sumqayit.

17. Avakyan Sergey Gurgenovich, resided at the address 4a, 41st estate, apt. 62. Led the youth in “necessary” diretion.

18. Ambartsuyan Rudik Viktorovich, born in 1958, resided at the address 27, 41st estate, apt 30. Committed robberies.

19. Melkumyan Edik Ambartsumovich, resided at the address 16/25, 4th micro-district, apt. 26. Participated in a range of robberies.

20. Ambartsuyan Valeriy Mikhaylovich, born in 1959, resided at the address 8, 3rd micro-district, apt 3. Was a close associate of Grigoryan.

21. Ambartsuyan Japolad Mikhaylovich, born in 1967, resided at the address 8, 3rd micro-district, apt 3. Led the teenagers.

22. Alttsnyan Garik Isayevich, born in 1964, resided at the address 6, 9th micro-district, apt. 6.

Was occupied with robberies. Actively participated in riots.

23. Minasyan Albert, born in 1939, resided at the address 25, 6th micro-district, apt. 4. Was occupied with robberies.

24. Tamrazyan Kamo Georgiyevich, born in 1961, resided at the address 79, 45th estate, apt. 73. Actively participated in riots.

25. Grigoryan Artash Masesovich, resided at the address 1/48, 45th estate, apt. 38. Broke the windows of the trading buildings.

26. Arakelyan Valeriy Sokratovich resided at the address 76, 7-8-12 micro-district, apt 40. Participated in many robberies.

27. Arakelyan Sergey Sokratovich resided at the address 76, 7-8-12 micro-district, apt 40. Led the youth in the riots.

28. Gevorkyan Mikhail Grigoryevich, resided at the address 5, 45th estate, apt. 18. Was occupied with robbery.

29. Bomasyan Gogar, resided at the address 16, 18th estate, apt.8. Instigated people by shouting “Death to Armenians!”.

30. Agababayan Zazyen Karlenovich, born in 1955, resided at the address 6, 3rd estate, apt 6. Shouted “Karabakh is ours!”, “Death to Armenians!”.

31. Asatryan Slavik Grigoryevich, resided at the address 7, 10th micro-district, Apt 46. Was one of the active participants of riots.

32. Pkhakadze Konstantin Mikhaylovich, Abovyan, Armenia. Was considered one of the most active members of “Nalyotchik”. Established communication between Sumqayit and Stepanakert.

33. Sarkisyan Suren Yuryevich - born in 1956, resided at the address 4 Pioneer street, Stepanakert. Participated in robberies.

34. Petrosyan and Pogosyan committed crimes in 1988 in Moscow and came to Azerbaijan. They were the All-Union wanted. In Sumqayit, they closely assisted Grigoryan

Here, we also would like to touch upon one more issue. In the events of February 1988, along with the members of the extremist group “Nalyotchik”, the representatives of the special service bodies of Armenian nation solely assisted to Grigoryan. “Bakinski babochiy” newspaper wrote on March 1, 2011: “It becomes clear from the archive materials of the State Security Committee that representatives of the separatist forces in Nagorno-Karabakh, Sarkisyan, Osipyanyan and others were the agents of the USSR State Security Committee. They actively participated in the events in Sumqayit. After the events, they had been sent on mission to the Central Asian republics. Later, the traces of these agents had been revealed in the riots that took place in Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan. This fact, once again proves that the provocations that took place in Sumqayit, Fargana, and Osh had been organized and implemented by one center”.

The USSR Prosecutor General’s Office and mass media did not provide the names of the extremists of Armenian nation directly participating in the events in Sumqayit. This was an order of the USSR State Security Committee. All the crimes had been laid upon Azerbaijanis.

The main purpose of the representatives of the law enforcement bodies who came from Moscow was to hide existence of the “Nalyotchik” extremist group. Although, they could achieve it at the beginning, the secret was disclosed. The law enforcement bodies of Azerbaijan had a particular service in this issue.

One of the interesting facts is that, it becomes clear from the archive materials of the law enforcement bodies, that **in the early 1988, in Stepanakert, Eduard Grigoryan met with the present president of the Armenian Republic Serj Sarkisyan and the activists of the “Krunck” society, Manucharov and Dadamyanyan.** It is interesting, what did the inveterate nationalist that does not make a compromise Serj Sakisyan had to do in Stepanakert with Eduard Grigoryan who had a parasitical living? The answer is obvious. The Nagorno-Karabakh issue was stuck. They had to do something and with this purpose they used the Sumqayit option. The “Nalyotchik” extremist group prepared by the special service bodies of USSR and Armenia was going to help him. The main point was to incite the riots, the rest would happen on its own. And that happened. In the recent years, we fairly accuse Serj Sarkisyan of the genocide in Khojali. There are well-founded evidences of that. The respected organizations of

many foreign countries and the international institutions already believe that Serj Sarkisyan committed the crime in Khojali and that his hands are in blood. Although, Sarkisyan's hands are not in blood of Armenians of Sumqayit, there is no doubt that he was one of the main organizers of the events in Sumqayit.

During the events that took place in Sumqayit some members of the “Nalyotchik” group – Z. Agababyan, E. Mosesov, N. Grigoryan, K. Tamrazyan, D. Agajanyan – had been arrested. For some reasons, there was no criminal case regarding them. It is clear from the testimonies of witnesses.

**AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC OFFICE OF THE PROSECUTOR
GENERAL****THE RECORD
OF THE INTERROGATION OF THE WITNESSES****April 19, 2010****Case No 60206****Baku**

The Interview started at 17:15.

The Interview ended at 18:30.

Musayev Mubariz Nadir oghlu,

the citizen of Azerbaijan Republic, born in the city of Ganja on May 8, 1959, Azerbaijani, has higher education, married,

Chief Investigator on Specially Important Issues of the Ministry of Internal Affairs had been interrogated by the High Investigator of the Department on Investigation of Specially Grave Crimes of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office **Hamidov Anvar Gudran oghlu**, as a witness in accordance with articles 90, 126, and 232 of the Azerbaijan Republic Criminal Code.

I am notified about responsibility for rejection to give testimony in accordance with article 298 of the Azerbaijan Republic Criminal Code and responsibility for making false statements in accordance with article 297 of the Azerbaijan Republic Criminal Code.

Witness



M. Musayev

“As to the matter of the case, I can say that, I occupy the position of the Chief Investigator on Specially Important Issues of the Head Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In 1988, I worked at the position of investigator of the department of internal affairs of the Khatai district of the city of Baku. On February 27, 1988, it was ordered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs that we must go to the city of Sumqayit. I should work within the investigation group that was established regarding the riots that took place in Sumqayit. Besides me, there were representatives of the department of internal affairs Gadir Shiraliyev, Eyvaz Yusifov and Malik Safarov who came from Russia, in the group.

We were located at the 4th division of the Sumqayit city police department. We mainly dealt with such investigation actions like interrogation of victims and recognition with photos. I acted with the investigation group until September 1988. Then I was sent to the Khanlar region with the order.

I remember that the investigation actions regarding the criminal case had been implemented by the USSR Prosecutor General's office and Armenian and Russian investigators from the other republics. The investigators of Azerbaijan were not allowed to implement the investigation actions. They assigned investigation regarding the Armenian nationals that participated in the riots and committed crimes to the other investigators, we were forbidden to do that. In short, we were debarred from that issue. It felt that, the investigation of the events that took place in Sumqayit is conducted unilaterally. There were those who ordered and organizers of these riots. And this was a diversion prepared by the intelligence bodies of the foreign countries and Armenia. The habitants of Sumqayit suffered from that. The representatives from Moscow, knew who were those who ordered and organizers, however, they were not interested in disclosing it. Because Moscow required it”.

Witness



M. Musayev

Let's pay attention to the testimony of one more witness. Yusifov İlham Yamen oghlu

Occupies position of the

Chief of the Legal Provision Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

It is stated in the testimony that he gave to the representatives of the investigation group of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office that, "In 1988, I worked at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, on February 27-29, I was sent to the city of Sumqayit. I was responsible for the investigation issues within the operational investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office. Besides me, there were other Azerbaijani investigators in that group. There were Nadir Mammadov, Chingiz Razzagoghlu, and Azad Majidov.

The USSR Prosecutor General's Office did not entrust to us many serious issues. When we asked, they answered "it is not your business". The main issues had been assigned to the representatives of other nations who came from the national republics. Majority of them were of Russian and Armenian nationality. Anyway, we were interested in who were those who ordered and organizers of the riots in Sumqayit and wanted to conduct investigation in this field. The representatives who came from Moscow strongly objected and assigned to us to prove participation of teenagers in the riots. The course of events showed that the events in Sumqayit were an action that was previously thought out and planned. Armenians did it by means of the USSR State Security Committee and special service bodies of Armenia. There is no doubt that active members of "Krunk" living in Sumqayit also assisted.

Initially, the operation officers from Russia, assigned the cases of several Armenians to me. Then it was ordered from the higher instances that these cases should be given to the Armenian investigator that came from one city of Russia (I don't remember the city). It happened. I was interested in this case. Then it appeared that the case was closed and the documents disappeared. At that time, as a staff member of the law enforcement body, I concluded that, the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office did not conduct the investigation in Sumqayit

fully, comprehensively and objectively and did not reveal the those who ordered and organizers. I participated in the investigation for three months and I witnessed that they remove Azerbaijani investigators from the case. Apparently, it also had a purpose. Galkin could not do it on his own. He acted with the instruction of Moscow, or the State Security Committee”.

Witness



I. Yusifov

...Before the riots that took place in Sumqayit, the “NALYOTCHIK” group secretly acting in Sumqayit, sent information about the social and political situation in the city, the mood of the population, financial situation, about the forces dissatisfied with the government, intensity of the ecological situation, difficult household of people in the illegal constructions in the anti-sanitary situation and other things to the Center, the intelligence bodies. The special service bodies passed this information on to the mass media and created necessary conditions for arrival of journalists to Sumqayit.

At that time, several journalists came to Sumqayit from the foreign countries. They were interested in the acts of violence against Armenians in Sumqayit, the economic and social life of the city, how and where the young people spent their free time, and other topics.

S. Konuel. “Reuters”

He spoke Russian purely, dealt with collecting materials about Sumqayit. Did not abstain from meeting with Armenians and obtaining necessary information.

M. Mikame. “SBE”

He spoke Russian purely. Visited the center of Sumqayit, bazaar, bus station, then met with the family of Petrosyans.

B.Pilar. “El-Pais”

Was a very aggressive journalist. Did not hide his emotions. Felt that he was assigned by the Armenian diaspora in abroad to collect enough information about Sumqayit. He was interested in the fate of Armenians who moved from Sumqayit. Took the pictures of the building No 22/54 at the “Dostlug” street, 3rd micro-district from different angles.

E. Novasio. “Stampa” (Italy)

He was prepared psychologically and from the point of view of information. Was interested in events, economics, arbitrariness, life of youth, and housing problems. Talked to majority of Armenians and they mentioned that the reason of leaving the city was that they were living in fear.

In 1988, the journalists from 47 foreign countries came to Sumqayit, from them 12 persons were the agents of the special service bodies.

Thus, we may conclude that those who ordered and organizers skillfully used the Armenian extremist group in the events that took place in Sumqayit on 27-29 February, 1988, in order to achieve their aims. The extremist group “Nalyotchik” was used in implementation of the scenario developed by the USSR State Security Committee and special service bodies of Armenia and Eduard Grigoryan began executing their assignments. A group of officers that arrived from Moscow, from the USSR State Security Committee that spent their days in the local security bodies hurried to submit a report about the activity of the “NALYOTCHIK” group in Sumqayit to Moscow, immediately after the events.

“ON 28 FEBRUARY VALENTINA BABAYAN GAVE BIRTH TO A BABY GIRL. ANJELA YEGANYAN ALSO HAD BABY GIRL, AND SUSANNA MINASYAN HAD A BOY. IN SHORT, ON 28 AND 29 FEBRUARY, 38 BABIES WERE BORN IN THE MATERNITY HOSPITAL. THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE DEATH AND NOBODY WAS INJURED.

(M.Gorin, journalist)

After the events that took place in Sumqayit, Armenian nationalists and ideologists launched the propaganda mechanism. Hundreds of articles and reportages had been prepared regarding Sumqayit and published in many countries of the world. The radio stations, TV channels were spreading information day and night without learning the opinion of Azerbaijani side and tried to show Armenians as suppressed, beaten, outcast nation whose rights are violated. The purpose was to show Turks and Azerbaijanis from the position of inveterate enmity towards Armenians and to make the world community to support the land claims of this “lonely” nation.

Is it possible to establish a state of “Great Armenia” with the nation that is becoming miserable? Let the reader answer this question.

All the printing materials produced by the Armenian propaganda “backroom” had been placed at the newspapers in a hurry. Certain press agencies expressing principality published the sponsored articles at the expense of the Armenian lobby. According to the plan of the Armenian leadership, USSR State Security Committee and Armenian intelligence bodies, the video cameras had been installed in several streets of Sumqayit. Then, those cameras had been taken and taken to Paris by the cameraman Artashes Gabrielyan. The documentary film called “Protect us from the cut-throats” is very ugly, libellous, and contrary to all the norms of film making. The film shows as if pregnant Armenian women were killed, their bellies were cut and babies burnt. There were many episodes like that in the documentary film. By this film Armenian fascists tried to show Azerbaijanis to the world community as cutthroats, bandits, and brigands. At the end of the film, the director says: “Now you had been visually

convinced that Armenian nation may not live with Azerbaijanis. The only solution is joining of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia”.

Yes, the purpose and intention of the film was clear. The leadership of Armenia and their patrons in the foreign countries stroke heavily the reputation of Azerbaijan by screening this film in the European countries. We should accept that, initially, our enemies achieved their aim. At that time Azerbaijan was losing the information war. There were fewer forces supporting Azerbaijanis in Moscow in comparison with those supporting Armenians. To some extent, we were in the information blockade of Armenians. And breaking this blockade required time. The former investigator on specially important issues of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office Vladimir Kalinichenko said in his interview to the journalist Peres: “Do you think why the events in Sumqayit are being forgotten? Do you say, there are video films? Yes there are. There are also parts where Armenian Gigoryan kills 3 Armenians in the video. These things were nothing for the court. He was sentenced for 12 years imprisonment. However, Ahmadov who killed one person was sentenced to death and was shot. Do you think how did the camera men appeared at the roofs of the buildings? Did they know the rout of the riots?”

Referring to the words of Kalinichenko, we would like to say: Really, who and how did organize the filming of riots in Sumqayit?

Who provided opportunity to Artashes Gabrielyan and the reporter of the “Communist” newspaper published in Yerevan to film in Sumqayit? The answer to this question is given by Robert Arakelov in his book titled “Nagorno-Karabakh: perpetrators of the tragedy are known”, he wrote: “The radio was not working at my work place therefore I went to the other room. There was news from Yerevan in the morning radio programme. In three minutes, the chief's secretary said that he called me. As soon as I entered his cabinet he asked where I was.

I answered that the radio was not working at my work place therefore I went to the other room.

- What was the news?
- They approved the ministers, - I responded, - now they were discussing the candidature of the minister of radio, press, and telegraph.

At this moment he asked either me or himself, I did not quite understand:

- Interesting, will they appoint him to tis position?

He said it very low and I could not hear the surname he mentioned. Even now I blame myself, I had to be more attentive.

- Who is he, is it your friend?

- No, - the chief answered, - this is the person who organized filming of the events in Sumqayit. He worked very good, from the technical point of view. He exactly determined the places of the objects. In short, he worked hard on it.

- Did he know that the riots will take place in Sumqayit, in advance?

- Of course, - chief responded. – They accurately calculated everything...

I wonder, if they will appoint him to the position of minister?" (page 29-30)

There is a need for at least a short commentary. Of course, the minister of communication of Armenia could not organize filming of the events in Sumqayit from several objects alone. The organizers of the events, intelligence bodies of Armenia and the representatives of the State Security Committee sent from Moscow closely assisted him in this issue. There is no doubt about it.

We would like to touch upon one more issue. The documentary film of Artashes Gabrielyan called "Protect us from the cutthroats" had been screened in the European countries in 1988, and Azerbaijani nation got backstab. (Backstab is peculiar for traitors).

NOTE:

Yes, this is true. If this is truth, then, why didn't Armenian ideologists screen this film in the TV channels of any foreign country, including Russia and Armenia, since 1988? When some episodes of the film "Echo of Sumqayit" had been filmed in Moscow, Azerbaijani journalists gave this question to Armenian journalists. The answer was that, "At that time, there was a need to create an effect in the foreign countries regarding the events that took place in Sumqayit. And we achieved that." When our journalists asked, "May be you would screen it again and provide it

to the discretion of the experts and film critics, learn their opinion and be sure that whether this documentary film is totally edited or it is reality?" They answered to this question that, "This documentary film is already in the archive, and its screening today is not needed."

It seems that the issue is clear for the readers. We wonder if Armenians themselves understand that this film produced with the order of the high circles is, in fact, is an ideological weapon that is an argument directed against its nation? Because Azerbaijan today is not like Azerbaijan yesterday. People, serve the future and the progress with their thinking and views.

Azerbaijan had chosen a way of evolution and is continuously developing. And those who develop it and popularize in the world are its potential educated human resources.

Armenians as a nation relying on its national ideology already began believing that this ideology is false, however they don't want to convince that. That is why, they do not dare to show again this film made up by Armenians and funded by the western countries. Because they are afraid of being unmasked before the world community. The leadership of Armenia, its chauvinist politicians, ideologists such as Balayan and Kaputikyan should understand it once and forever...

...For a long period the events that were committed in Sumqayit were on the pages of Mass Media. It is possible to see such libelous articles in the mass media of the United States, England, France, Switzerland, Russia, and others. After a certain period, the "Sunday Times" newspaper wrote: "Azerbaijanis are not weaker and less powerful than Armenians. Azerbaijanis are weaker and less powerful than Armenians in the information war." And this was true, we cannot deny it.

After the events that took place in Sumqayit, the book called "Sumqayit, glasnost, genocide" in Russian had been urgently published in Yerevan in the large amount of copies and quickly spread in the Soviet Union. It is

stated in the book that hundreds of people had been killed in Sumqayit, not 32 people. As the book was written by unskilled authors, there are many thoughts and assumptions refuting each other. Thus, it is written in the 7th page of the book: "We have such documents that prove that more than 100 people of Armenian nation had been killed in Sumqayit. Within two days, 115 people had been registered in the morgue".

It is written in the 9th page of the book: "In 1988, the massacre and savagery had been committed against Armenians. As a result, tens of people had been killed and burnt alive".

ИЗВЕСТИЯ 30.03.88

Сумгаит: СЛЕДСТВИЮ МЕШАЮТ СЛУХИ

Как уже сообщалось, в Сумгаите продолжается расследование в связи с инцидентом здесь 28 февраля беспорядками. Расследование ведет специальная следственная группа Прокуратуры СССР. Наш корреспондент встретился с руководителем группы заместителем начальника Главного следственного управления Прокуратуры СССР В. Нендешевым и следователем по особо важным делам при территориальном прокуратуре СССР В. Галкиным.

— На каком этапе находится следствие?

— Группа приняла дело к своему производству 1 марта. В сообщении Прокуратуры СССР, опубликованном 23 марта, оглашены некоторые детали. Мы понимаем, какой общественный интерес вызывает следствие, но большего, пока оно не закончено, сказать не можем.

Объем работы огромный. В то же время сроки расследования и его тщательность приобретают особую политическую важность

в свете событий, прошедших в Нагорно-Карабахской автономной области и Ереване. Поэтому для участия в работе следственной группы привлечено несколько десятков лучших следователей страны из Москвы, различных областей РСФСР, Украины, Белоруссии. Кроме сотрудников прокуратуры, в составе группы, хотим подчеркнуть, многонациональной по своему составу, следователи из органов внутренних дел, психиатры, другие специалисты.

— Что-нибудь мешает следствию?

— Мешают прежде всего слухи. Они по-прежнему плодятся и продолжают отравлять атмосферу. Не хотим повторять измышления, которые на дух только тем, кому не по душе, чтобы два народа жили в дружбе, но кое-что нужно, вероятно, повторить. Следствием твердо установлено, что во время беспорядков в Сумгаите не пострадали ни один ребенок. Жертв было не четыреста и не пятьсот, а именно тридцать два человека, как и сказано в опубликованном сообщении Прокуратуры СССР. Среди этих тридцати двух человек двадцать шесть армян и шесть азербайджанцев.

Излишества с людьми подтвердили: абсолютное большинство азербайджанцев с горечью восприняли эти события. То, что произошло в Сумгаите, ни в коем случае не характеризует взаимоотношения двух народов. В ходе следствия выявлены десятки эпизодов, которые дают не обычные по своей драматичности примеры подлинного интернационализма. Можно категорически утверждать: именно азербайджанские семьи, укрывавшие армян, спасли нас от еще большей беды.

— Когда будут известны первые результаты расследования?

— Мы чувствуем, с каким нетерпением их ждут. Но выяснение истины должно преобладать над всеми другими соображениями. Надеемся, что первые результаты расследования будут известны уже в первой половине апреля.

Как сообщили нам в городском комитете партии, с 29 марта в Сумгаите перестал действовать комендантский час.

Р. ТАЛЫШИНСКИЙ,
соб. корр. «Известий».

"Izvestiya" newspaper on March 30, 1988

In order to provide feedback on this opinion, in the article published in the "Izvestiya" newspaper on March 30, 1988 titled "Sumqayit: The rumors hinder the investigation." The following question was given to the head of the investigation group on especially important issues of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office V. Galkin:

"- Does anything hinder the investigation?"

– First of all, the rumors hinder it. It had been determined by the investigation for sure that not even a single child was killed during law violations in Sumqayıt. The number of victims was neither 400, nor 500, there were 32 people killed.”

“According to a British officer, after being acquainted with Armenians for a few years, you understand that Armenians always seek a conflict and always use a fact “we are suppressed” in their propaganda”. Armenian killed for Dashnak is considered valuable. They believe that, if they will properly benefit from this situation it will help them”. (The War with Muslims. Armenians attack again. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Case No 205 Scotland-Liddel. Tiflis. 1919.)

As Galkin said, the rumors really hindered the investigation in Sumqayıt. Example. The worker of the Superphosphate plant Babayan, when saw representatives who came from Moscow began loudly speaking, he said that this night, i.e. on March 3, 1988, two Armenian children had been beheaded and left behind the building of the Culture House named after S. Vurgun. Head of the Investigation Group, Investigator on the specially important Issues of the USSR Prosecutor General’s office V. Galkin, urgently sent a person to the site of occurrence for checking the fact. It appeared that the rumor was false. Later, such people like Babayan, stated that 15 Armenian woman had been killed and buried at the cemetery in the Jorat settlement. This rumor was false as well. There was a rumor, as if a group of people of Armenian nation had been burnt near the Jeyranbatan lake. The investigators who returned from the site of occurrence stated that this information was also false.

Armenian nationalist are masters in bribing mass media. They achieved to publish some libelous articles regarding the event in Sumqayıt in the several foreign countries as well as in USSR. Pay attention: the following words were written on the first page of the issue of the “Yurmala” newspaper published on June 29, 1989: “This issue of the newspaper is devoted to Armenia and the Armenian nation”.

It was written in the main article: “The materials provided in this article and those which are in the process of preparation for publishing had been written by four journalist – Andre Yautse, Angela Gasparyants, Yuris Laksov, and the author of these words – Zigfrid Dzedulin, in the period of one month after their one week visit to Yerevan, Leninakan, and

other cities of Armenia. In this issue, we tried to talk honestly and correctly about the sufferings, moral and physical damages, and humiliations that the Armenian people suffered in the recent year and a half.



Twelve pages of the 16-page newspaper had been devoted to Armenia. We would like to provide quotes from the articles.

Silva Kaputikyan: “We slipped to the edge of the abyss. We have no choice. There is Turkey on one side and Azerbaijan on other. We have no air to breath. We are dying. Unfortunately... majority of Azerbaijani intellectuals think that Karabakh is inalienable part of Azerbaijan. They are wrong.”

Writer Sero Khanzadyan: “In 1930, there were 850 thousand Armenians living in Karabakh. In the early 1988, their number approximately halved. In 1926, Armenians comprised 40 percent of the population of Nakhchivan. In the late 1988, almost no Armenians were left there.”

Maybe, the editor of the “Yurmala” newspaper and his employees tried to gain points by dedicating the whole issue of the newspaper to Armenia. Maybe these articles were ordered and Latvian



journalists had been bribed decreased? Armenian nationalists, in order to achieve their aims may give an incentive to anyone – a scientist, a politician, an intellectual, political scientist, journalist, or film director... Apparently, Armenians provided financial incentive to the leadership of “Yurmala”

As soon as the newspaper was published, the “Kommunist Sumqayita” newspaper was the first who responded to it (now, the newspaper is called “Ekho Sumqayita” 04.10.1989 - author). The reporter of the newspaper Mikhail Gorin wrote an open letter to the “Yurmala” newspaper devoted Armenia and the Armenian people.

Честно говоря, когда порочался автор, стало обидно. Но с тех пор относиться к «Юрмале» с глубокой симпатией, газета подкупала своей раскованностью, нестатейностью, дальностью от формализма, от академического проблематизма, от глубокой разработанности. С чем-то в газете не соглашался, что-то приветствовал, что-то категорично отвергал, но при этом газету считал одной из лучших в советской печати по публикации, стремление к объективности. Так было, когда «Юрмала» на крыльях опубликовала на крыльях издательской кампании интервью с Б. Н. Ельциным (газета, одна из немногих в СССР, решившаяся тогда на это), дава возможность самим читателям оценить позицию родичинского деятеля.

Тем обиднее, повторюсь, было читать этот, без всякого намека на объективность и стремление разобраться в причинах конфликта, почти два года терзающего два народа, номер «Юрмалы». И это, как ни странно, судя по всему, отражает позицию газеты, разделяющей мнение авторов большинства публикаций — армянских писателей, юристов, журналистов. Ведь почти все в нем, и в частности и в отношении его тона, сами журналисты «Юрмалы», включая ее редактора З. Дзедзалиса.

Меньше всего хочу быть обвиняемым в распространении ложных слухов. Когда читаешь застойные статьи, то сразу вспоминаешь, что когда-то ты сам или иной издатель давал ложные слухи, давая лишь по критическим статьям. И если бы речь шла об одной публикации в «Юрмале», наша газета обязательно перепечатала бы ее, дабы были суждения с обеих сторон. Но невозможно не перепечатать двенадцатиполос, и даже просто цитировать ее, а не записывать в своем маленьком журнале. В маленькой газете слишком мало места. Потому что конкретный разговор возмущает лишь один «эпистас» — сумасшедшее событие, которое упоминается едва ли не в каждой статье этого номера.

Федральская трагедия прошлого года погрязла в воде. Когда восток встает, изнемогает даже не национализм, как кто-то может подумать в данном случае, просто людей, нормальных людей. В интервью редактору «Юрмала» Даугусту Калупитиса спросили: Считаете ли вы, что в Латвии Калупитис так ответил на вопрос, есть ли среди азербайджанских писателей и интеллигентов люди, одинаково с ней оценивающие события в Армении и в Карабахе? Нет. К сожалению. Только некоторые, например, Чингиз Гусейнов публично назвал Сумгаит позорным пятном. И все. Большинство азербайджанской интеллигенции считает, что Карабах — не самая важная составная часть Азербайджана».

Не желая являться безосновательным слухом, который замышляет то, что Нарбахов неотъемлемая часть Азербайджана, считает большинство азербайджанской интеллигенции, как уверяет С. Напугиян, а азербайджанский народ, вернее даже будет сказать население Азербайджана. Что же касается того, как представляется азербайджанской интеллигенции оценивать случившееся в Сумгаите, то не удалось в долгие словопереправы найти слова человека, которого хорошо знали и уважали члены азербайджанской интеллигенции. Вот что сказала его вдова, «Где читалась доверенность», опубликованной 27 августа с. г. в газете «Бакинский рабочий».

По поводу некоторых статей
из номера газеты «Юрмала»,
посвященного
Армении и армянскому народу

29 июня двенадцать из шестнадцати своих полос еженедельник «Юрмалс» (орган Юрмальского горкома Компартии Латвии и горсовета народных депутатов) посвятил «Армении и армянскому народу» — так было анонсировано содержание этого номера на его первой странице. Сам по себе факт, вряд ли заслуживающий внимания нашей газеты — в конце концов, это внутреннее дело любой редакции, о чем и как писать, лишь бы написанное было достоверно и объективно. Выказаться же заставляет именно неприкрытая предвзятость публикации в моменты, касающихся ситуации с НКАО, в таких простых взаимоотношениях двух соседних республик, открывшиеся передеградация фактов и ложь в освещении суматских событий.

начальник главного управления народными образованиями Бактисирошкова А. Джанигов: «...Я говорю от своего имени, от имени подавляющего большинства моего народа: каждый честный азербайджанец должен осудить эту страшную историческую трагедию. Этого стоить митинга в Степанакерте, Ереване, Баку в защиту национальных прав, ура... патриотический азарт, азарт победы, если, в конечном счете, они привели и приводят к смерти Человека! Это только не должно быть поводом для мышления пинтератропа моего поколения, чтобы мы могли посягнуть на жизнь другого человека. Уверен, нет и не может быть никакого оправдания тем, кто убивал и убивается, тем, кто в Сумгит...»

[illegible]

и аргументированности выводов. Вот, что утверждает, к примеру, в статье «Придет время и...» писатель, Герой Социалистического Труда, народный депутат СССР, член Политбюро ЦК ССРС, Сергей Владимирович Халдеев: «Была зверски убиты около 450 армян. Центральная пресса сообщила о 32 погибших. Это бесчеловечный лозунг! Я говорил об этом в своем выступлении, оставшемся в архивах, своим близким видел в море трупы с порядковыми номерами: 161, 162 и т. д.». На чем основа, на этой информации, чем она подтверждена, в каком море? Я тогда видел трупы «с порядковыми номерами» Халдеев — все это в статье сказано безопытно. «Знаю»,

Неожиданно для него понадобилось народному депутату страны написать и такую откровенную формулу: «Только через три дня, на четвертый день — кровопролития в Сумгаит были введены войска». Митинги в Сумгаите начались вечером 27 февраля, потом перешли в бесчинства, с 28 февраля в городе комедийный час. То есть от начала беспорядков до введения комедийного часа прошло двое суток, и тому времени когда в Сумгаит были введены войска — «четвертый день кровопролития» ведет речь С. Хазина-дзян?

Я принадлежу к тем, кто считает, что войска в Сумгаите действовали в первые часы своего присутствия недостаточно оперативно и решительно — справедливости ради хочу сказать и об этом. Но все же давайте согласимся: именно их ввод позволил прекратить кровопролитие.

Вновь, через полтора года, всплыл благодаря авторам «Юрмалы» миф о «зверствах в сумганском роддоме». В статье «Комитет «Нарабах»: в борьбе за народное дело» журналист А. Гаспарянц пишет: «Фашистские зверги ворвались в городскую больницу и родильный дом — по прикреплённым биркам определяли

изображениях детей армян и выспрашивали их из окна, а с осуждением родов армянкам выпрашивали животных, по добно осматривая палачам... Р. У. Угачатян, автор картунга, который нарисован на основе рассказов, нам сама она пишет, очевидцев. Но, как и авторы других статей, фамилиями, фактами она себя не утруждает.

Удовольствия от малейшего на подобную тему, списку лишь одно. Сразу после раздельного, и в поби и в поби, с сумасшедшим роддоме. Вот данные, которые привела потом в статье «Дом, где рождается баушине» («НС», 11 мая 1996 г. стр. 1) «Баушине, которая была роди да дочку, дочка появилась

в тот же день у Анны Египетской акушерка Анжелика Родионова приняла роды у Ханди. Она родила мальчика, родившегося у Суланы Миниски, всего за 28 и 29 февраля родилось 38 детей. При этом, как и в случае с ситскими случаями, ни одной травмы. Тот единственный Рита Атавтин, которая рожала в больнице, которую мы встретили уже в аптеке, у нее родило 4 в роддоме, — рассказывала Рита. И еще было много случаев, как обычно. У меня родились мальчики, все — три килограмма, три граммов, килограмм. Да у меня и третий ребенок, как тех родов, так и его. О том, что при роддоме ходят врачи, я не слышала. У нас сироты. Она позвонила из района, volunteered за меня, спрашивала, как дела, как выживает. Но, честное слово, ни о каком сплассе и речи не шло, в роддоме была одна акушерка.

в Середине прошлого года в Сумгаите побывала корреспондент Национального общественного радио (США) Айна Купер. Мы встретились, потом, уже из Москвы. Айна прислала по моей просьбе статью для нашей газеты с впечатлениями от поездки. По определенным причинам статья не была опубликована, но сейчас хочу привести мнение американского корреспондента: «Сюрок (имеется в виду после 26 февраля 1988 г. — М. Г.) по всей Москве распространялись слухи о гибели чело-

[illegible]

ниш, а также в результате гибели 32-х погибших, кому-то из 63 или 450? Судя по рассказам, которые сами были в шпоре от случившегося? Или же тем, на чьей, действительно, совести кроется погибших — как армян, так и азербайджанцев, страдавших сотен тысяч беженцев? Реальность случившегося и так настолько трагична, что в довершение к этому десятилетия и преувеличенных десятилетий неуждаться, а уж придумывать и распространять их похороны инициатор.

[illegible]

Готовя этот материал, с трудом дозвонился до Юрия. Он сидел в поговорителю, сотрудничая с газетой, и никак не мог понять, почему вдруг проявился подобная одиозность и предвзятость. Но, к сожалению, ни с кем из журналистов поговорить не удалось. Тогда, для очистки совести, спросил у секретаря или редактора: а может быть, такой же спешномер «Юрия» — посвященный Азербайджану? Как и ожидал, оказалось.

M. ГОРНИН

We would like to provide the summary of the article to the reader.
M. Gorin writes:

“The writer S.Khanzadyan says that, “450 Armenians had been savagely murdered in Sumqayit. However, the official mass media confirms that 32 people had been killed. This is an absolute falsehood! I told to many Armenians living in Sumqayit who survived, they eye witnessed the dead bodies in the morgue with the numbers 161, 162...”. I wonder, in which morgue and when did those Armenians see those dead bodies? We did not find answer to this question in the article of Khanzadyan. “I know”, “I saw”, all these are not an evidence, these are just assumptions.

I also would like to draw your attention on one more fact that does not add respect to the writer. Khanzadyan states that, “Three days after the events that took place in Sumqayit, the Armenians’ blood was still shed, after all these, the troops were sent to Sumqayit.”

You are mistaken, Khanzadyan! On February 29, at 23:00 the curfew had been already announced in Sumqayit. How it may happen that the blood is shed during the curfew? It is absolute falsehood!”

In the article “The Karabakh Committee: struggle for people” the journalist Gasparyants writes: “The fascist elements entered the hospital and maternity hospitals. They knew from the badges on the babies hand that they are Armenian and threw them out of the windows, they cut the pregnant women as butchers.”

Gasparyants did not see these events himself, if he heard about it, why he did not provide the names and surnames of the witnesses. Thus, this is also false!

Here, let’s set aside the open letter written by M. Gorin to the “Yurmala” newspaper, provide feedback on the information published in the western mass media regarding acts of violence committed during the unrest in Sumqayit in the maternity hospitals against pregnant Armenian women, and then we will return to the letter. As if pregnant Armenian women were killed here, their babies were cut out and their heads were cut off. There is no doubt that this is an absolute falsehood. Let’s apply to the testimonies of witnesses in order to expose this falsehood:

**THE AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC PROSECUTOR GENERAL'S
OFFICE**

**THE PROTOCOL
OF INTERROGATION OF WITNESS**

November 07, 2012

Case No 60206

Sumqayit

Interview started at 10:50.

Interview ended at 13:10.

- **Abishova Shahla Imran gizi,**

the citizen of Azerbaijan Republic, born in the city of Shusha on March 3, 1946, Azerbaijani, has higher education, married, physician at the "Implant" aesthetic medical center, habitant of the city of Sumqayit had been interrogated by the Investigator of the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office, **Police colonel Gafar Mahmud oghlu Karimov**, as a witness in accordance with articles 90, 126, 232, and 234 of the Azerbaijan Republic Criminal Code.

As a witness, I can say the following regarding the events committed in Sumqayit.

"From 1972 to 1996, I worked at the position of the chief medical officer at the maternity hospital in Sumqayit. Representatives of many nations worked at the maternity hospital that I was managing. Twenty of them were of Armenian nation. Six months before the events, I witnessed the conflict between the driver of the maternity hospital Boris Pogosyan and my secretary Jewish Irina Shur. I reproved both of them. My secretary told me that, Boris tells that Nagorno-Karabakh will belong to them soon, thus, M. Gorbachev already promised it to the Armenian people. I calmed Irina and said that, she should not believe the Pogosyan's tales. "Nagorno-Karabakh may never belong to Armenia, because Karabakh is the land of Azerbaijan."

One day, at the maternity hospital, Amaliya Avanesyan came to me and said that her husband went to Kislovodsk and hadn't returned. "I stayed alone, have nobody to help me"- she said. Our staff rendered her

financial and moral assistance for several months. On February 27, 1988, Amaliya Avanesyan did not come to work, later we knew that she went to Kislovodsk to her husband. The information that her husband was lost was false. The next day she called me on the phone and said that, Armenians will be killed in Sumqayit, therefore, she escaped.

At this time, I understood the meaning of the word “my husband is lost”. They were members of “Krunk”, they were informed of the events that should have take place and left the city in advance. It became known that, they even sold their apartment before leaving Sumqayit. And they also withdrew their money from the savings bank. Majority of Armenians had been informed about the diversion that was going to happen in Sumqayit. Thus, Boris Pogosyan told to all Armenians working in the maternity hospital that they should leave the city, that Armenians will be killed here. Majority did not believe that. When the riots took place in Sumqayit on 27-29th, we hid Armenians working at the maternity hospital in our apartments, we saved them from violence. Taking into account that there were Armenian women in the maternity hospital, we took them under control and provided necessary care for them. Then, Armenians living in Sumqayit had been gathered at the Executive Committee and the houses of culture. The Azerbaijan Minister of Health T. Gasimov together with the leadership of the city visited the House of Culture named after Samad Vurgun. The Minister ordered to bring beds for small children urgently. He said, they should not sleep at the floor.

At this moment, one of the Armenians shouted that in the maternity hospital the pregnant Armenian women are killed, their babies are thrown out of the windows and their heads are cut off and people play football with them. That was absolute falsehood. Me, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee M. Bayramova, and Russian militant Andrey (I forgot his surname) went to the maternity hospital. It was calm there. On February 27-29, in Sumqayit 38 Armenian women gave birth. And all of them were alive and healthy. There was no any problem. The next day, the commandant Krayev and Investigator for especially important cases under the Prosecutor General of USSR V. Galkin came to the maternity hospital. They talked separately with every Armenian woman. None of them complained about the approach and the care provided.

I would like to mention one more fact that, the member of “Krunk” Zina Karapetyan escaped to Yerevan during the events. The reporters of the Russian and Armenian mass media waited for her at the airport. Zina talked in front of the cameras and journalist and said that, in Sumqayit, the acts of violence had been committed against Armenian women, their children were beheaded, and etc. Then, we knew that Armenian nationalists planned all these in advance, they made a documentary film and screened it in Europe, they demonstrated Azerbaijanis as burglars, cutthroats and bandits. It would be better if either the leadership of the Armenian Republic or the authors of that film would ask the commandant Krayev about it and learn the truth. Apparently, Armenians did not need the truth.

One day, even one of our employees Anjela Arakelyan called us and threatened our employees. She said that soon exploding “balloons” would be thrown at Sumqayit from the air and the whole city will be destroyed. To avoid listening these stupid talks of Anjela, we just hung up.

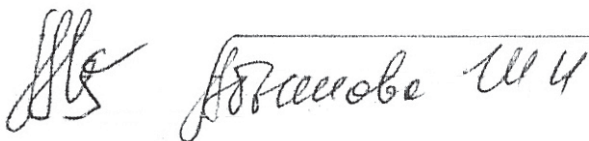
I would like to touch upon one more issue. There was one nurse Emma working with us. After a certain period since the events, she took strict position against Azerbaijanis in the maternity hospital, she began threatening them. I called her to my cabinet and asked to behave properly. With her subversive actions she created a conflict among employees. I had to fire her. The representatives of the Commandant’s Office came to me, they insisted that I should take her back. I refused and said to that officer: “Did you come here to preserve the order or an Armenian woman?” The officer said nothing and left.

Emma got angry, when she was leaving the hospital she nervously said, “No problem. It’s not about you, it’s my fault. I should make injections to the heads of all the babies of Armenian women and they would die or get paralyzed at least, and you would be responsible for that”, and she left.

Unfortunately, some mass media bribed by the Armenian lobby in the foreign countries, write articles about the acts of violence against Armenian women in the maternity hospitals in Sumqayit. And this is strange that there are no exact names and surnames provided. Thus, it was a branch of the scenario prepared in advance. Later, it became clear to me that not only Armenians, Moscow and the security bodies had also been involved in the events that took place in Sumqayit. If there would not be support of

Moscow and personally of Gorbachev, they would not be able to raise the Nagorno-Karabakh issue”.

Signature:



Nabiyeva Yetar Ali gizi,

citizen of Azerbaijan Republic, born in 1939, has higher education, married, habitant of the city of Sumqayit stated in her testimony given to the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office:

“The meetings that were held in Stepanakert and Sumqayit regarding Nagorno-Karabakh, in the late February 1988, worried everybody. We all were shocked by the death of 32 people in the riots organized by the Armenian extremists in Sumqayit. In those days, I worked as a physician at the maternity hospital No2. On 27-29 February, about ten Armenian women gave birth. I would also say that, there was no any biased attitude towards them. In contrary, they were embraced with attention and care.

Attack of the burglar groups on the maternity hospital is nonsense. Now, the Armenian ideologists spread such information in the world press, that as if the Armenian women in the maternity hospitals had been killed their babies had been cut out and thrown away. This is one of the most disgusting, disagreeable, and dirty ways of propaganda used by the Armenian nationalists?”

Witness



Nabiyeva Y.A.

Sadikhova Zeynab Ibrahim gizi,

the citizen of Azerbaijan Republic, born in 1947, has secondary professional education, married, stated the following in her testimony given to the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General's Office:

“Since 1960 till present, I work at the Sumqayit city maternity hospital No 1, as a nurse. On 27-29 February 1988, I was on duty together with Armenian Roza Karapetyn, Amaliya Avanesyan, Yelena Shahbazova, and Yelena Sarkisova. Regarding the events, serious work regime had been established. On 27-29th several Armenian women gave birth. The special care was taken of each of them. There was no attack of burglar groups on the hospital. Armenians spread a rumor that there were acts of violence against pregnant women. This is nothing but falsehood. We helped our colleague, Amaliya Avanesyan who was of Armenian nation. They moved to Minvodi together with her family. We sent her money by post. We new that her family situation is very bad. Now, Amaliya informed us not to send money anymore, the Armenian nationalists are suspicious, if they will know that they receive assistance from Sumqayit they would torture them. And we stopped the assistance”.

Witness



Sadikhova Z.I.

Here we return to the article of Mikhail Gorin:

“I was at the Sumqayit city maternity house after the events in February. On 28th, Valentina Babayan gave birth to a baby girl. Anjela Yeganyan also had baby girl, and Susanna Minasyan had a boy. In short, on February 28 and 29, 38 babies were born in the maternity hospital. There was not a single death and nobody was injured either.

In April, I visited Rita Atalyan who gave birth on 28 February. Rita told me: “It was cam in the maternity hospital. My son was born. 3 kilos and 100 grams. We gave him name Aleksandr. “Sasha” is my third child. The previous children were also born in the same maternity hospital. I did

not have any problems. I learnt the rumors about the maternity house from my mother-in-law. She called me from the region, she worried about me and the baby. She asked how did I survive? Nobody rescued anyone. It was calm in the maternity hospital. And I came home safely and without any problem”.

In mid 1988, the reporter of the American National Public Radio Anna Couper came to Sumqayit. Later we met with her in Moscow. I asked Anna to write an article for our editorial house send to us. She complied with my request. The American journalist wrote in her article: **“There were rumours spread in Moscow that 200-300 Armenians had been killed in Sumqayit. As if the new born babies were killed in the maternity hospital. However, these rumours were not confirmed by the exact facts. When I was in Sumqayit, I talked to representatives of both nations. As I heard, the events took place in the twinkling of an eye. People told that before there was not even a single fact of a conflict between nations in the history of Sumqayit. All people lived in friendly relations”.**

Anna put her article into the envelope. There was a list as well. Anna wrote that, “this list was given to her in Yerevan”. There were names and surnames of 63 people. There were names of Armenians murdered in Sumqayit in the list. The rest were fabricated surnames.

Why murder of 32 people was not enough? Why did they exaggerate the figures, sometimes they write 63, sometimes 450? What is there purpose in doing so? Who are those standing behind it?”

Maybe the editor of the “Yurmala” newspaper tried to express his sympathy to the Armenian people by supporting them. However, the leadership of the newspaper new it very good that the Baltic republics also conduct endless meetings and strikes in order to withdraw from USSR and put pressure on Russians. As a result, the confrontation takes place, those of a Russian nation applied to Moscow and asked for help. And M. Gorbachev said that, “this is a democratic process” and left Russians in the Baltic republics on their own. Instigation of the tension that appeared in the Baltic States even more in the Caucasus was an outcome of the political orders made by the high instances to the press such as “Yurmala” newspaper, wasn’t it? If you would read any article that is related to Sumqayit, you will see that the number of murdered people is increasing every time.

Apparently, this is also a policy. That was a deceptive propaganda and it worked against them.

Armenian nationalists and ideologists, in order to confuse the foreign citizens often mentioned that the number of Armenians who died in Sumqayit as 400, 500, 1000. There are several examples showing these exaggerations:

“Yurmala” newspaper (June 29, 1989)

“Murder of Armenians in Sumqayit had been organized in agreement with the leadership of Azerbaijan. About 450 Armenians had been savagely killed in Sumqayit. However, the central press informs that this number is 32.”

“Golos Armenii” (March 1988)

“About one thousand Armenians had been killed in Sumqayit. Heads of several new born Armenian babies had been cut off. However, Moscow states that this number is 32. But, Armenians who escaped from Sumqayit, said that this was a large scale massacre”.

“The Economist” (March 19, 1988)

“The Soviet Union, you will change soon”

“The officially stated number of people killed in Sumqayit is 32. It does not seem to be true. Number of Armenian refugees who could escape from the city and save their lives was about 300-500 people. Information about savageries as well as murder and injury of Armenian women and their newborn babies in one of the maternity hospitals was not denied.

In other information provided, states that young Azerbaijani burglars pursued Armenian families, killed, raped and robbed them.

Viktor Krivopuskov, writer and diplomat, Russia:

“Within three days, a few thousand Armenians had been killed. It was impossible to determine the exact number of human losses”

Source. Mutinous Karabakh,
see: <http://Armenianhouse.org/krivopuskov/karabakh/166-212.html#5>

In order to refute such articles consisting of falsehood and libel, we would like to provide the statements made by officials and the mass media and opinion and testimonies of the witnesses.

**Investigator for especially important cases
under the Prosecutor General of USSR V. Galkin:**

“Not a single child was killed in the offences committed in Sumqayit. And the number of people killed was neither 400 nor 500, they were just 32 people. ”

(“Izvestiya”, March 30, 1988)

**Shahla Imran gizi Abishova,
Habitant of the building No 35 in the 6th micro-district of the city
of Sumqayit.**

From the testimony given to the Azerbaijan Prosecutor General’s Office:

“On 27-29 February, in Sumqayit 38 women of Armenian nation gave birth. All of them are alive and safe. There was not any problem. The next day, commandant Krayev and Investigator for especially important cases under the Prosecutor General of USSR V. Galkin came to the maternity hospital. They talked separately with every Armenian woman. None of them complained about the approach and the care provided.”

**Rita Atalyan
Habitant of Sumqayit
1988**

It was calm in the maternity hospital. My son was born. 3 kilos and 100 grams. We gave him name Aleksandr. “Sasha” is my third child. The previous children were also born in the same maternity hospital. I did not have any problems”.

(“Kommunist Sumqayita” newspaper, 04.10.1988)

“On 28 February, Svetlana Babayan gave birth. She had a girl baby. Angela Yeganyan also had a baby girl. Anjela Azizbekyan implemented her professional duties and helped Khalida Ahmadova to give birth. Susanna Minasyan had a baby boy. In the day when the events took place, there was no any attack on the maternity hospital.”

(“Kommunist Sumqayita” newspaper, 04.10.1988)

Zeynab Ibrahim gizi Sadikhova

From the testimony given to the Azerbaijan Prosecutor General’s Office:

“There was absolute calmness in the maternity hospital. We increased care of the Armenian women. Everything that is written regarding death of babies is absolute falsehood and libel. I would like to mention a fact. In 1988, pro-Armenian mass media stated that as if babies of the Armenian women were killed in the maternity house in Sumqayit, their heads were cut off, they were tortured, and etc. In order to check it, a reporter of the “Meditsinskaya gazeta” newspaper from Moscow who was of Armenian nation Melkonyan visited the maternity hospital. After talking with the chief physician he went to the wards and had private conversation with every Armenian woman. Nobody complained about Azerbaijanis and particularly the physicians. Melkonyan promised to write an article about humanism of the Azerbaijani physicians in the “Meditsinskaya gazeta” newspaper upon return to Moscow. However, the article was not written. We did not need that article. We had a clear conscience and properly implemented our humanist duty”

FINAL OUTCOME:

The attitude of Armenians towards Turks is unambiguous. They call Azerbaijanis as “Turks” as well and consider them enemies. In the conflicts, disputes, bloody wars, Armenian nationalists try to show themselves as a poor and oppressed nation, shamelessly and impudently try to deliver to the international community the false information as if the nation is killed and increase the number of killed people every

year. We wonder, what is the underlying purpose of Armenians in this issue? And they try to show themselves as a suffering nation that is always oppressed. Then, where is the pride of this nation? Maybe this sentence is inappropriate. We wonder if Armenians have a sense of pride.

The Armenian scientists, ideologists, intellectuals writing with zeal about the so called “genocide” of Armenians in 1915, in Turkey, already increased the number of people killed up to 3 million. It is very strange, according to the initial sources of Armenians we can say that in about hundred years, Armenians changed this figure several times. The initial figure was 300 thousand, then it became 600 thousand, then this amount was raised up to 1.5 million, then it became 2.5 million, and in the recent years, they say that 3 million Armenians were killed. The historian writing the world history knows it very good that these figures are not true. They know that this is a falsehood made up by Armenians and many times mentioned it in their works.

Let's apply to one historical fact. In 1915, there were about 1 million Armenians living in Turkey. Let's refer to the foreign sources. Ludwig de Konstanon states that, in 1913, there were 3.1 million Armenians in the world and 1.4 million of them lived in Turkey and 1.55 million lived in Russia.

Another foreign scientist Christopher Walker writes that in the eve of the World War I there were 1.5 – 2 million Armenians in Turkey.

Henrich Toser states that in 1877 there were 700 thousand Armenians in Turkey.

Claire Parays says that 1.5 million Armenians lived in Turkey in the eve of the World War I.

The following demographic indicators provided by Lynch are interesting.

Armenians (in the regions of Turkey and Russia) - 906 984

Caucasus and Transcaucasia - 450 000

Astrakhan, Bessarabia - 75 600

Asian part of Turkey - 751 750

European part of Turkey - 186 000

Irani Azerbaijan - 28 890

Julfa and other regions of Iran - 14 110

Bulgaria - 5010

Romania - 8070

Austria -1230

Total: 2 427 394 people.

If there were just 3 million Armenians living in the world in the early 20th century, is it logical to say that in 1915, only in Turkey, 3 million Armenians had been killed?

Our purpose in providing this figures is to show that Armenians that that rely upon the principle that “every dead Armenian is valuable” also considered it important to exaggerate the number of Armenians murdered during the events in Sumqayit. Armenians were not satisfied with death of 32 people. In the foreign mass media they often mentioned that the number of Armenians who died in Sumqayit was either 400, or 500, or even 1000. And those who were zealous in this activity were the Armenian ideologists Balayan, Kaputikyan, Khanzadyan, Ulubabyan, Pogosyan, and others. With the purpose to show to the world by these false figures that there was “genocide” committed in Sumqayit, try to use all the ideological, financial, and psychological factors. Every year at the eve of the anniversary of the events that took place in Sumqayit, the Armenian diaspora, nationalist forces send endless stream of letters and appeals to the parliaments of the foreign countries. However, they forget that the whole world already knows them and knows that Armenians misrepresent their own history and the history of other nations. Of course, all these do not bring prestige to them. They should face the truth. But, Armenians either are afraid of the truth or accept the falsehood as their truth. Marx had good words: “The truth is true when it is truth”. Apparently, for Armenians the slogan “falsehood is truth and truth is false” is more advantageous. What can we say?! Every nation has its peculiar psychology. And this is psychology of the Armenian nation...

RESPONSE TO THOMAS DE WAAL, OR HOW AZERBAIJANIS RESCUED ARMENIANS IN SUMQAYIT

...Let's return to the main topic. The radio "Freedom", "Voice of America", "Voice of Vatican", took pro-Armenian position regarding the events in Sumqayit and presented Azerbaijanis to the world community as "barbarians". Armenian nationalists and political scientists claimed that the "genocide" against Armenians had been organized in Sumqayit. Exaggerated figures and various rumors were always on the pages of newspapers.

Unfortunately, the bribed Armenian and pro-Armenian Mass Media did not provide any information about the humanism of Azerbaijani people.

British journalist Thomas de Waal writes in his book "Black Garden": *"Maybe it would be better to seek for answer to the question "why bloodshed was not prevented?" in Sumqayit, a place where thousands of refugees were in the uncertain and hopeless situation."*

Of course, this is a correct and logical question: Interesting, who should protects habitants of Sumqayit and why they did not protect them? It is very difficult to provide unambiguous answer to this question. Who wished to have the riots, murders, burnt houses, robberies in the city he or she was born and grew up? We think that, nobody! Fine, then, who should defend the city? Was that the peaceful population living in friendship? Could they defend? They could defend it! Who would defend?! M. Gorbachev and his force structures, local population. Moscow did not want that, in contrary, they contributed to the riots. We will talk later about it.

There is no doubt that first of all, law enforcement bodies should have prevented those extremist groups and groups of armed hooligans. Why they did not do that? When in Sumqayit, Thomas de Waal should have found the exact answer to this question.

In those terrible days, the head of the Sumqayit city Police Department had been dismissed, all the arms had been taken from the employees of the department in accordance with the instructions provided by the high leadership. Even the shotguns held at home had been collected. The head of the local security bodies had been transferred to another position. The first secretary of the Sumqayit City Party Committee was in leave. The high-ranking representatives of the USSR State Security Committee

who came from Moscow, prohibited the Sumqayit city law enforcement bodies to prevent the riots that took place in Sumqayit. The testimonies of witnesses prove that, as well. What about the Soviet troops? How could not they prevent it? The soldiers came to Sumqayit a few days before. The USSR Minister of Defence, D. Yazov says regarding it, that, “the riots could be prevented by the troops, however, without the order of the Supreme Commander M. Gorbachev, we did not have right to interfere with any conflict” (From the interview given for the documentary film “Echo of Sumqayit” in 1993”).

It is known from the history of USSR, that the riots that took place in various cities – in Tbilisi (1956), Novorossiysk (1956), Novocherkassk (1962), Temirtau (1959), Sumqayit (1963), Chimkand (1964), Dneprodzerjinsk (1972), and Leninogorsk (1984). Why the Soviet army that has such a great military and physical power, the intelligence bodies could not prevent a group of “hooligans” as Gorbachev said? They could! The scenario of these events had been drafted long before, and it had to be implemented and it was realized.

We may not agree with the thought of Thomas de Waal. “Why they did not protect?” After 25 years that have passed since the events, we often hear this question. Those who ask why the revolution happened in Russia in 1917, now answer that the revolution should have been prevented.

Why? You can hear various nonprofessional answers to this question in Russia.

As Lenin, Tsar Nikolay and the Russian revolution has nothing to do with our topic, we will set them aside and return to our city.

Without the order from Moscow and Gorbachev, personally, the riots could not take place in any place in the Soviet area, the blood could not be shed, and people could not be killed. Thus, someone needed that to happen. Apparently, Thomas de Waal knows the answer to this question very good.

We would like to bring one more issue to the attention of the British journalist.

WITHOUT HUMANISM, FRIENDLY ATTITUDE, AND SELFLESSNESS OF THE PEOPLE OF SUMQAYIT, MAYBE HUNDREDS OF ARMENIANS WOULD BE KILLED IN SUMQAYIT, NOT JUST 26.

The people of Sumqayit endangered their lives by hiding Armenians in their apartments, at the summer cottages, in the regions. they provided them shelter, food, financial, and moral assistance. That was protection of the city from bandits, wasn't it? It was self-sacrifice of Azerbaijanis to prevent the cruel and criminal actions of the bandits, wasn't it?

Regarding this, we would like to bring the extracts from the little part of the testimonies of many witnesses from Sumqayit, Russians and Armenians.

**Krayev, the general, in 1988,
Commandant of the city of Sumqayit
In the period when events took place**

“If the local population would not help, many people could die. At that moment, the bus driver took 10 Armenians to his native ration Sheki. Azerbaijani families prevented hooligans from entering the buildings they attacked. One worker was in the bus with his Armenian friend. Hooligans stopped the bus and required the Armenian guy to come out. The Azerbaijani guy was wounded, but rescued his friend”.

(“Pravda” newspaper, March 21, 1988)

At those days, in the various estates and micro-districts of Sumqayit, Azerbaijanis hid Armenians in their apartments, for example, S.Mirzayev hid his neighbour G. Nasibyan, G. Karimov helped G. Ohanesyan, F.Karimov helped E. Ezayan, R. Tagiyev helped V.Sarkisyan, Kh. Ismailov helped A. Arutyunyan, G. Humbataliyev helped V. KHachaturyan, F. Eyvazov helped T. Arzumanyan, F. Mammadov helped R. Babayan, S.Abbasov helped to K.Melkumyan, and S. Aliyev to S. Mirzoyan and preserved them from the criminal groups.

We would like to bring some more examples.

October 17, 1988.

Gasimov Sabir Teymur oghlu

Habitant of Sumqayit, Azerbaijani, member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Has higher education, born in 1930, in the city of Kirovobad (present Ganja), works at the position of senior advisor at the Heating Electricity Center No2, had been interrogated as a witness by the investigator of the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office Jimagulov R.T.

We present a part of that testimony in translation to our readers:

"On February 28, 1988, at about 17.30, I was in my apartment and heard a noise in the porch. I live on the 3rd floor. When I opened the door of my apartment, I saw that Mejlumyan Grigoriy and his wife Roza are coming downstairs from the 4th floor. They both had blood on their faces. I did not pay attention to their clothes. They were crying. They said that they were beaten and asked me to hide them. I let my neighbours in and hid them in my bedroom. In about half an hour, someone knocked at the door. I opened the door and saw that it was Mejlumyan's little daughter. She was alone. I let her in. She said that the burglars thought that she is Azerbaijani and did not touch her. Then, I went downstairs to the yard and stood at the entry to the building for a while. I saw that, the groups of people, whom I did not know, entered the second and third blocks of the building. It was dark already, and I did not remember any of them. Then I returned home. In my apartment, I had Grigori, Roza and their little daughter and another daughter, I don't know her name. I did not know, how she entered my apartment, because I was for about half an hour in the yard. When I returned home, my wife hadn't returned yet. In half an hour, I went downstairs to the yard to learn the situation. Between the second and the third floors I saw another daughter of Mejlumyan. She did not have clothes and was heavily beaten. Her face was bleeding and body was terrible. I took her to our apartment and gave her my wife's dress, her relatives helped her. Then my wife came home. I did not see the burglars that attacked Mejlumyan's apartment, because, at that time we were at home, and only heard noises in the yard. But, I haven't seen anything myself".

September 23, 1988.

Mejlumyan Roza Antonovna

In her testimony to the investigator of the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office S.M. Kamagin told that her neighbour Gasimov Zakir helped her and her family to rescue and said:

"...when we ran out of our apartment and went downstairs we knocked at the neighbours' doors. Gasimov from the 8th apartment opened the door and let us in, they hid us in their apartment... Later, Agayev Igor brought Karina to the Gasimov's apartment. I don't know how much time passed since we came there. Karina was beaten heavily, she did not have clothes... Later, Lyudmila also came, she was also beaten, she was in the nightwear. Then, my little daughter Marina also came to the apartment. They did not do anything to her. I don't know where she was at that time, how she left the apartment that nobody touched her. However, then, we learnt from Marina that Agayev Igor helped her to escape from our apartment."

August 11, 1988.

Yesayan Levon Shirinovich, habitant of Sumqayıt, born in 1942, had been interrogated by the investigator of the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office Yusupov R.M. as a victim:

Question: - *How do you think, was there a real threat to you and your family from the unbridled masses on 28 February 1988?*

Answer: - *Yes, there was a threat. If policemen would not rescue us, these people would really kill us. One of them stroke on my head with something and it started bleeding. Besides, when we were in our "Moskvich" car, they knew that we are Armenians and began breaking the windows of the car and wanted to turn the car. There was death threat, the policemen prevented it".*

August 11, 1988

Yesayan Albina Aleksandrovna

Habitant of Sumqayit, born in 1940,

Had been interrogated as a victim by the investigator of the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office Starikov V.I.

"I think that, something terrible could happen to our family at that day on February 28, when we were near the Sumqayit bus station. We stayed alive because people helped us and rescued us from the bandits. They did not let bandits to kill us. In this issue, along with policemen, other Azerbaijani people whom we don't know also helped us. The unbridled group could do anything to us. Yes, they have beaten us, tried to turn the car upside down. But then, one Azerbaijani came and said to the bandits that we are not Armenians we are Lezgins, in order they would leave us alone. They beat us again, we were bleeding. I did not recognize those people. It seemed that they were not from Sumqayit. Otherwise, I would recognize at least one of them. I could not even know those who rescued us. I remember that police men approached to us and took us out of crowd. then, another Azerbaijani fellow took us to the hospital..."

THE WITNESS INTERROGATION PROTOCOL

March 7, 1988.

Interrogated as a witness by the investigator of the investigation group of the USSR Prosecutor General's Office Mikhaylovski: Ismailova Khanim Gulamhuseyn gizi. Born in 1951.

Azerbaijani, has 8 years secondary education. Nonpartisan. Single. Works at the detergents plant of the city of Sumqayit. Is habitant of Sumqayit.

We present you a part of the testimony of the witness K.G. Ismailova:

"...From February 25 to 28, I was in Baku with my sister. On February 28, at 18.30, I returned to Sumqayit. That day, there was funeral of the

mother of my neighbour from the apartment 41 in our building Mammadova Svetlana. First, I went to her to present my condolence. I returned home at about 8 PM. There were many people in the yard. About 500 people. When we went upstairs to our apartment, about 100-150 people entered our block. They were calm. I went to Sveta. There was nobody in her apartment, Svetlana gave me the keys. I switched on the light and called Sveta to come home soon. I was afraid that they may attack her apartment. But that day and that night Sveta and her family did not return home. Later, someone knocked on the door. I opened the door and switched on the light in the corridor. A boy asked me, - whose apartment is this? I answered that the apartment belongs to Azerbaijanis.

Then, when I returned to my own apartment I saw Avanesyan Raya from the apartment 42, she was shocked. I thought that she was haywire. I took her to the apartment 41. Then a boy whom I did not know bought Raya's daughter Marina to that apartment. Marina was absolutely naked. The boy ran downstairs, I could not see him very well. I took Marina to the bathroom...

Then, I returned to my apartment. On the 4th floor where I lived, people were breaking the doors of the apartments 45 and 47. There were many people... The granddaughter of Emma Gigoryan Kristina was frightened and hid in the corner. I took her into my arms and hugged. Someone from the crowd told me not to touch the girl. I said that this is my girl and took her to the apartment 41. There were relatives of Emma Grigoryan who came from Baku, as well – a man, a boy, and a girl. I don't know their names...

Later, again someone knocked on the door. I opened the door and let in Grigoryan Nelya with her daughter and son, Grigoryan Valentina with her husband Eros and their son. I don't know who brought them.

Ten, I wanted to return to my apartment. Between the 3rd and the 4th floors, someone grabbed my hair and held the knife at my throat, and told me with swear words that I am hiding Armenians in my apartment. I told him that, I am not hiding anybody, there is no one in my apartment. He required to open the door. I did not open. At this moment someone struck me and I almost fell down. They took the keys from me and opened the door. When they entered the room, Yuri Avakyan's head was seen behind the curtain near the balcony. At a moment many people entered the room.

Someone opened the door of the balcony and brought Yuri Avakyan and his wife Asya to the room. They took Yuri somewhere out of the apartment. They wanted to take his wife as well, I begged them on my knees not to take her. Then, they told me that I should give them money or gold in order they would not touch anybody. I took of my golden earrings and rings, and gave them together with 402 rubles that I had. I inherited those earrings and rings from my grandmother, and according to my mother, their value was 853 rubles. I don't remember the person who demanded the gold and money from me, I just remember that I gave them to a guy in the leather raincoat. I don't remember any other clothes on him, because I was on my knees in front of him. As soon as that person took the gold and then money from me, they all went out. Oh yes, I remember that the person who took money and gold from me, had wide nails, they were wider than of the other people. His hands were rough and full of cracks... we stayed in the room, me and Avakyan's wife..., I left her at my apartment, locked the door and went to the 41st apartment. At 01.45 AM I returned and we stayed together with Anya Avakyan till morning. Anya's son came in the morning and they left..."

Note: Mere Azerbaijani woman – Khanim Ismailova displayed a great heroism and rescued the lives of 13 Armenians. She hid 12 of them in her neighbour Sveta's apartment and one of them in her own apartment. For some reasons, Armenians did not mention this fact in the Mass Media. That's clear. Armenians need "dead Armenians" to strengthen the propaganda.

Shagen Avakyan, habitant of Sumqayit, works at the Azerbaijan Tube Rolling Plant:

"I live in Sumqayit for about 45 years. I came here from the Hadrut region of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. During these years, I gained many friends, that was the greatest thing that I obtained here. When a group of hooligans became enraged in the city, once again I felt the power and greatness of the friendship. All Azerbaijani habitants of the building No7 at Nizami street, where I lived, protected us from the Armenian bandits with their selflessness. They rescued my family from bandits and

helped us in difficult situation. Therefore, I express deep gratitude to my neighbours and particularly to Azerbaijanis.

At those days, my neighbour accepted my family in their home and guarded our apartment. After the danger passed, they took us to the Nasoslu settlement. Here, we stayed at the apartment of a person named Vanya. We were 15 persons. They took care of us every day. In the days when I was there, many Azerbaijani friends of mine from the various mountain villages of the Davachi region, from Siyazan, Baku, and Sumqayit and invited me to their homes.

When we left the apartment we gave the keys to our Azerbaijani neighbour. They rescued us from the “hooligans” and protected our apartment. I hug them and kiss.

**“Sosialist Sumqayita” newspaper.
March 10, 1988.**

**E. Yedigaryan, worker at the Gas Department,
Habitant of the 8th micro-district:**

“Help to another one in order the danger would stay aside from you”. I always remember this Azerbaijani saying when meet Paramedic-lab assistant Shahnigar Babirova.

At those difficult days, we can say that S. Babirova became our rescuer.

When “hooligans” entered our block Shanigar was the first one who met them, at this moment, her husband Sahib also came. They did not sleep till night, they resisted the rabble-rouser and were able to turn them out of the yard. Thus they rescued five Armenian families from death and robbery. We were 19 people. There were old people, women and small children among us. The family of Babirovs gave us the second life by rescuing all of us.

**(“Kommunist Sumqayita” newspaper,
June 05, 1988).**

**V.Oganov, lead founder at the
Construction and repair department No 3**

From the article:

“They helped me as if I was their brother”



(“Kommunist Sumqayita” newspaper, March 16, 1988)

“It is a bad feature to measure all with one yardstick. If somebody commits a crime, is it right to charge it to the whole nation? If a bad person shows up his dirtiness one day, is it related to his national identity?

I say it because some people try to present the events in Sumqayit as an ethnic issue. I made such a conclusion. There were Azerbaijanis who rendered assistance and helped me – the person of Armenian nation in those difficult days. They protected me and my family from the “hooligans”. The bandits came to our yard with a large group, my neighbours prevented them from enetering the block and did not let anybody in. Then the person

whom I did not know provided all the conditions for me. In one day, Nerche Bahman oghlu Agayev found me. We did not now each other. He was a director of the plant and I worked at the construction and repair department. We conducted repair works at the Superphosphate Plant. Nerche Bahman oghlu provided necessary assistance to me and my family, he did his best. I concluded that people should be friends. The ethnic issue is not important here, the main thing is a person himself... ”.

(“Kommunist Sumqayita” newspaper, March 16, 1988)

December 26, 2011

From the testimony of **Safarov Zubeyir Humbat oghlu**, citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born in December 1952, in the region of Ujar, Azerbaijani, has higher education, is habitant of Sumqayit, given to the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General’s Office:

“In 1988, I lived in the 6th micro-district. We never had any disputes regardin nationality issues in our neighbourhood. In 1988, people began talking about the “Krunk” society in Sumqayit. We disregarded that. When the riots began, we saw unknown people in black raincoats leading the teenagers. Armenians living in our neighbourhood were in panic. We calmed them. There was Mikhail Avanesov living on the second floor of the block where I lived and Grigoriy Arakelov living on the 4th floor. He hid both families in our apartment. Then we created a few groups consisting of people from our neighbourhood and locked the entry to and exit from the micro-district. The group coming from the Samed Vurgun Street tried to enter the micro-district. We did not let them to do that. We defended Armenians from the unbridled burglars until morning. In the early March, I took the families of Avanesov and Arakelov to their realtives in Baku. On the way, Grigoriy told me that the people of Karabakh are not guilty in this issue. The mafia groups of Karabakh instigated people. Later, the course of events one more showed that the words of my neighbour were true”.

From the words of **Rahila Abdullayeva** citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born in 1948, Azerbaijani, has higher education, married, is habitant of Sumqayit:

“Our neighbour Ashkhen lived in our building for about 20 years. Our children grew up together. During the events, we hid Ashkhen, his two daughters, daughter-in-law, and two grandchildren in our apartment. Their apartment was robbed as well. We held them at home for three days. We provided them with everything. After the curfew had been imposed, they went home”.

From the words of **Vagif Alasgarov**, born in 1939, has secondary education, married, is habitant of Sumqayit:

“Abram’s relative got a knife wound. We took him by car to the emergency hospital. On the way, the group of unbridled hooligans stopped our car. Fortunately, they recognized me and let us go. Necessary assistance had been provided to him at the hospital. Me and Abram stayed with him until morning.”

From the words of **Fatma Ibrahimova** citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born in 1942, Azerbaijani, has secondary education, married, is habitant of Sumqayit:

“The unbridleness of hooligans frightened everybody. My neighbour Eva came to us, she was crying. I tried to calm her. She calmed and said that she is not afraid for herself, her daughter was pregnant and the pain started already, she was afraid to take her to the hospital. We calmed her, then I called my son. We took Eva’s daughter Susanna to the maternity hospital by my son’s car. They took care of Susanna. I and Eva were with her all the time. Susanna gave birth to a baby boy. He was 3.6 kilos. I still cannot forget the care rendered to her by the chief physician of the maternity hospital Shahla Abishova”.

(E.Mammadov, “In the night from 28th to 29th” pages 40-41)

**Musheg Gazarov, tool-maker at the
Construction and repair department No 2:**

“I live in Sumqayit since 1950s. As this city was international, there was always kindness, mutual understanding, when necessary, people helped each other and solved the problems together. There were sincere people living in Sumqayit. I have representatives of 6 nations in my family: Armenian, Azerbaijani, Finnish, Ukrainian, Russian, and Jewish. We were very kind to each other. I’ve never seen any discontent among them. Those who created this Nagorno-Karabakh problem, don’t think that they destroy families with their nationalist actions? I would like to ask, my family is an international family, now, my family should be destroyed because of the actions of a group of chauvinists or some people who strive for power?”

(“Kommunist Sumqayita” newspaper, 1988)

It was written in the “Krug” journal published in Tel-Aviv on July 23, 1989:

“Sumqayit is a city where Azerbaijanis heroically rescued Armenians”.

March 26, 2011

From the testimony given by **Ibadulla Mukhtarov**, citizen of the Azerbaijan Republic, born in 1960, Azerbaijani, habitant of Sumqayit, to the Azerbaijan Republic Prosecutor General’s Office.

“I was born in Sumqayit. I received my secondary education at school No 12. I never faced ethnic conflicts in Sumqayit. In 1988, after Armenian extremists shed blood in Sumqayit, everything became clear. The real face of Armenians was disclosed. They killed people of their own nation. In the apartment 38 of the building where I lived, there lived family of Armenian Eduard Babayan. I went to them. I saw that they are in panic, they were scared very much. I took his family to my apartment. They stayed with us for a few days. Later we knew that there were Armenians who were informed about the events in Sumqayit. These were Avanesov and Gukasyan families. In the eve of the riots that took place in Sumqayit, they left the city. I would also say that, in those days we created a team consisting of

the young people living in the first estate and we created something like posts in all the entries to and exits from the estate. The participants of the meeting usually gathered in front of the building of city party committee.

Our estate was situated near the party committee. When the crowd dispersed and when they tried to enter our yard, they faced resistance and they went towards micro-districts by the Samad Vurgun Street. That day, Chingiz, Huseyn, Shakir, Ogtay, Ali, Rauf, Heydar, and Shahin living in our neighbourhood along with resisting to bandits, hid more than 20 Armenian families in their apartments and in the summer cottages at Sari Gaya”.

We would like to give information to Thomas de Waal about the heroism and selflessness of the youth of Sumqayit. In 1988, when the riots began in Sumqayit, the self-defence groups of the Komsomol Committee had been created. They kept shorthand records of every day.

“February 28”. Near the Culture House named after N.Narimanov, young members of a public order squad drove out the unbridled hooligans from that area. And withdrew the cold arms from them.

“February 28”. At 16:00, a few truncheons had been taken from the hooligans.

“February 29”. They took two Armenian families from 45th estate and 3rd micro-district to a safer place.

“February 29”. In the evening, they took an Armenian family that faced danger in the 16th estate from their apartment and hid them.

“February 29”. They received a signal from the 45th estate that the Armenian families and endangered. The members of a public order squad urgently went to that estate and rescued Armenian families.

“February 29”. In about 21:00, someone began shouting in the 16th and 34th estates. We split into groups and went to that area. We entered the block. There were four young men on one of the high floors. One of them had an ax in his hands. They wanted to attack an Armenian family. Guys resisted them, took the ax from the guy and drove them out of the estate.

“February 29”. The bandits became unbridles at the 3rd micro-district. The members of a public order squad went there. In comparison to them, the bandits were stronger. Notwithstanding this, they were able to withdraw several families from their apartments and take to a safer place.

(“Kommunist Sumqayita” newspaper, March 11, 1988)

FINAL OUTCOME

Sumqayit was an international city. There were legends about him. Living there was a great pleasure. There never was any national and ethnic discrimination. All had the common wishes and dreams. Azerbaijanis never had any spite, envy, or ill feeling against other nations. But Armenians, betrayed Azerbaijani people. In order to realize their disagreeable policy, they shed blood in Sumqayit. As a result, 32 people died. A range of mass media in the United States, France, the Great Britain, Netherlands, and Russia began exaggerating these figures with impact of the Armenian lobby. However, the fact remains as a fact.

Murder of 400, 500, 1000... Armenians as misrepresented by Armenian nationalists is nothing but the attempt to cast aspersions on Azerbaijani people, on the people of Sumqayit. If Azerbaijanis would really be “cut-throats” and “bandits” as they wrote, then, the number of people who died in Sumqayit would be much larger. However, the habitants of Sumqayit showed heroism and selflessness, they faced and prevented the unbridled crowd, they did not trait their Armenian neighbours whom they hid in their apartments. Azerbaijanis could betray Armenians. But, conscience of Azerbaijanis did not let them to do that. It is ancient tradition of Azerbaijanis to help people in the difficult situation and offer assistance. If someone in Sumqayit would feel threat because of that humanism and abstained from rescuing his neighbour, people would reproach him. In order to avoid this reproach, Azerbaijanis had to defend Armenians from the Armenian fascists. The examples that we brought above confirm it once again. Every nation has good and bad persons. But, this may not be referred to Armenians. It is impossible to understand how these Armenians may kill the representatives of their own nations?! Besides accusing the murderer, those who ordered and then hid, should also be brought to account. Apparently, those people by shedding blood of a group of Armenians living in peace and order, presently occupy some “high position” in one of the centers, first of all in Moscow.

For some reasons, the leadership of Armenia, their ideologists, patrons living in abroad, the bribed mass media totally forgot to write about the heroism and selflessness demonstrated by the people of Sumqayit in

those difficult days in 1988. The purpose is clear. Armenians don't need humanism, they need blood and conflict. And they created it. By means of the military industrial complex of Moscow, they occupied 20 percent of our territories. We wonder if Armenian people achieved their dream by this. In the forest, when wolf takes the catching of another wolf, it always becomes a catching. They should not forget about it.

“YOU SHOULD KNOW. I MUST REMIND YOU THAT IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY AZERBAIJANIS COMPRISED 43 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION OF YEREVAN. NOW THEIR NUMBERS HAVE FALLEN TO 1 PER CENT. THIS SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED”.

(Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. 1985-1991)

Armenians demanded a great deal from Moscow, from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev. Everyone was waiting for the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, scheduled for 18 July 1988. Both parties – Azerbaijan and Armenia – wanted to prove the correctness of their positions. However, here the Armenians failed. We print some extracts from the record of that historical meeting for readers' attention.

Sergei Ambartsumyan, Rector of Armenia State University:
- I think that before beginning my dialogue with you (referring to M.S. Gorbachev - author) my duty as a communist, pedagogue, and rector is to tell the whole truth about the situation that has arisen in our republic. The situation is strained.

Mikhail Gorbachev: *- I mean something different when talking about a reciprocal compromise. You offer a kind of reciprocal compromise that sustains estrangement between these two nations. We don't need that. You offer the following: there is no problem if we do not trust each other, let God govern us in the form of the Soviet government. I am talking about a reciprocal compromise that implies you shaking hands. As far as I have heard, there was this idea in Azerbaijan. Perhaps, in order to bolster the trust of Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh, the status of the region could be changed to that of autonomous republic? I am happy that this has been raised in Azerbaijan. I talked with comrade Arutyunyan (First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia - author), he supported the idea. However, the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh region met in session and they declared that they are not subordinate to Azerbaijan, and they did it at a time when*

we were working on that issue. Noise in the hall: there was a meeting in Stepanakert and it was said there that that was unnecessary. Certain circles in Azerbaijan immediately began collecting signatures.

Gorbachev: - *And that was not all. A demand was raised to eliminate the region completely. Besides, it is known that the number of Azerbaijanis living in Armenia was no lower than the number of Armenians living in Nagorno-Karabakh. What then, should we do now, establish an autonomous region there as well? We think that there are some elements who do not want a proper resolution of the problem at all. They refer mainly to the changes in demography and composition of the population. This is presented as important evidence and even the result of deliberate policy. Please tell us, how many Azerbaijanis were there in Yerevan in the early 20th century?*

Ambartsumyan: - *At the beginning of the century, in Yerevan?*

Gorbachev: - *Yes*

Ambartsumyan: - *It is difficult to say.*

Gorbachev: - *You should know. I must remind you that in the early 20th century Azerbaijanis comprised 43 per cent of the population of Yerevan. What is the percentage of Azerbaijanis now?*

Ambartsumyan: - *Now there are many fewer. Maybe one per cent.*

Gorbachev: - *In saying that, I would accuse Armenians of oppressing Azerbaijanis and expelling them. As we see, certain processes took place, all these things need to be investigated... You are a scientist. You should be accurate in providing information when telling the truth. If it is just your truth or just my truth, it doesn't mean yet that it is the truth. However there is a truth that is real: Armenians and Azerbaijanis have lived on these lands for ages. For you, Nagorno-Karabakh is a cradle or, in other words, one of the strongholds of the Armenian people. However, Azerbaijani composers and many other artists came from Shusha, from Karabakh. You cannot easily plough the hearts and families of people and the ages and tread them down.*

V.A.Petrosyan, writer, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Writers and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, voiced in his speech the opinion that there was an attempt to commit 'genocide' in Sumqayit.

Gorbachev: - *Genocide is a deliberate policy, it not spontaneous, it is an organized racist policy. And in Sumqayit the dregs of society became*

enraged. Their identity should be discovered. Genocide is a deliberate policy of extermination perpetrated against a certain nation or minority. Why do you want to attribute the provocation of brigands to all Azerbaijan? What genocide can we talk of here? I think you know the meaning and import of this word.

There were long discussions in the meeting of the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Representatives of almost every republic spoke of the land being untouchable.

The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the following resolution:

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet discussed the request of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR on 15 June 1988 to transfer the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region to the Armenian SSR made with regard to the request of the Soviet of People's Deputies of NKAR, and the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR on 27 June 1988 to reject the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region to the Armenian SSR, and considered it impossible to change the borders of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR and a division of the territory determined according to the constitution.

Chairman of the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet
A.Gromyko
Secretary of the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet
T.Mentashashvili

This decision by the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet forced the Armenian nationalists to set aside their claim. They began accusing Moscow of taking a pro-Azerbaijani position. Virulent and malign attacks were launched against the decision made by the Soviet government's highest legislative body, the propaganda campaign intensified. It was a disgraceful campaign, preconceived for quality and effect, and it was nothing but slander.

Many intellectuals living in the Soviet country cared about the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict and they wished for both nations to live in

peace and order, because war never brought people happiness, only tears. The wars that have afflicted the world confirm this. At that time a group of respectful intellectuals had appealed to the people of Azerbaijan and Armenia. We think it is important to present the letter addressed to both nations.

A misfortune has occurred in our common home. We cultural people have been shaken by the tragic events. Blood is shed, the elderly, women and children are suffering in peace time in city streets and villages. Why? For what?

Common sense may not receive with equanimity the events that have taken place in our time. We appeal to you: know that reciprocal hostility will bring you neither happiness, nor peace, nor wealth. It only sows seeds of rancour and hatred.

The events of recent days, caused pain in the hearts of the Soviet people. The pain and suffering are endless. A person chokes with rage to see what is happening and to understand what has been done to people. However, is it possible to repeat?

We appeal to you, workers and villagers, teachers and doctors: Please stop, and stop your friends and neighbours! Who benefits from the blood shed? No matter what 'evidence' you use to justify national hostility and mutual violence, it will bring neither happiness nor hope. The dignity of a nation lies, first of all, in its moral wealth, its ethical values, in the respect it affords to the freedom and honour of every nation.

Historically, Azerbaijanis and Armenians have lived together on the abundant lands that their ancestors worked for ages. We believe that there is no great writer, artist or musician in the country who does not love the Caucasus, that land of passionate freedom and natural beauty. The pure feeling for mutual enrichment and moral tradition may be eliminated for brief periods. But it cannot be disturbed for long or erased from the popular memory.

We also recall the long-lasting relations between your nations. Today's world is very fragile and requires daily attention; it is at once interdependent and whole. Thus the danger that any crack may turn into a chasm. The deeper and more precipitous it becomes, the more difficult it will be to bridge. Just think about the weight of the burden you leave for

your children and grandchildren. Sooner or later, they will need to restore this common home. We are sure that you will display vigilance and a spirit will return to calm your rebellious mood.

This is such a critical moment in the fate of the nations that not only history, but the future as well depends on them. We hope for common sense, the courage to stop this bloody madness. Enough sorrow and distress! Stop this rage and despair!

We appeal to you – to our friends, people of culture. We see your faces, hear your voices and hope that this address will touch your hearts. In the belief that the artist has respect among the people and his wise words awaken hope in people and offer remedy. Today, humanitarianism is no abstract category, life itself calls for humanitarian action and peace. We have an opportunity to demonstrate moral and ethical purity that has its own worth. We, concerned for the nation's wealth must take this opportunity.

As the great Pushkin believed in the human intellect, we also believe in you. His genius produced words about people who forgot hostility and united in the common family, a family that shares the problems of all and the happiness of everyone.

We say: The intellect and humanity will win, we are with you on this path.

**Tengiz Abuladze, Chingiz Aitmatov,
Mikhail Anikushin, Vasiliy Bykov,
Oles Gonchar, Mustay Karim,
Alim Keshokov, Leonid Leonov,
Dmitry Likhachev, Eduardas Miezelaitis, Yevgeny Nesterenko,
Elena Obraztsova, Boris Piotrovsky, Valentin Rasputin, Sviatoslav
Richter, Yevgeny Svetlanov, Georgy Sviridov, Innokenty
Smoktunovsky, Galina Ulanova, Boris Ugarov,
Alfred Schnittke, Andrey Eshpay.**

The radical Armenian nationalists disregarded this address from celebrated intellectuals who lived and worked in the Soviet Union and stoked further the conflict between the two nations. What is strange is that Armenian intellectuals living in Moscow and mostly supporting Gorbachev

and his hypocritical policy, preferred for some reason to stay silent about the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

Not only in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but even within a Soviet Union founded on the ideology of ‘internationalism’ which artificially underpinned all its actions, Armenia’s writers and academics untiringly served the dream of ‘Great Armenia’. They issued anti-Turk and anti-Azerbaijani propaganda and raised their youth in this spirit. For example, Khachatour Abovyan’s novel *The Wounds of Armenia*, Mikael Nalbandian’s poem *Liberty*, Ghevont Alishan’s *Motherland* and *Songs of a Patriot*, Gevorg Dodokhyan’s *Swallow*, Smbat Shahaziz’s *Levon’s Grief*, Rafael Patkanyan’s *Tears of Araks*, the books of Silva Kaputikyan’s *The Caravans are Still on the Move*, Zori Balayan’s *Hearth* and others are just some of the literature written to serve this propaganda.

There were academics living and working in the Soviet Union, mainly in Moscow: T. Stepanyan, who worked on *The Question of Nations and International Relations* within Communist Party ideology, was a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Science (AS) and was considered a respected specialist; Prof. M.Mchadlov, Deputy Director of Academic Affairs at the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Prof. S.Katakhchyan, at the M.V.Lomonosov Moscow State University; Prof. E.Tatevosyan, Head of the Department of Scientific Communism of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ Institute of International Relations; Prof. J.Arutyunyan, Head of Department at the USSR AS’s Institute of Ethnography; Prof. I.Tsameryan PhD, Prof. G.Apresyan PhD, Prof. A.Azizyan PhD and many others. In the USSR they defended candidate and doctorate dissertations on questions of *nations and international relations*, they published hundreds of monographs and books, and they were especially active in academic and theoretical conferences. However, these so-called internationalist scientists were for some reason silent when Armenian nationalist and separatist forces began the ‘Karabakh Movement’ on 20 February 1988; they remained in the shadows. None of them reached out to the people, said anything to the press, or unmasked the nationalists! Of course, silence means agreement. This in itself shows that the so-called internationalist Armenian scientists in fact supported the Armenian anti-Azerbaijani propaganda and the separatist movement.

***I confess... I cannot avoid writing this.
I cannot forget the bodies of people who had been
shot:
children, women and pregnant young women.
I beg pardon of Azerbaijanis, because I could do
nothing
about these events that had such a bloody and
merciless outcome.***

(From the letter of Russian Army Colonel
V.Savelyev to Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian
Federation)

In the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the people of Azerbaijan suffered greatly from this tragedy. The Armenian nationalists were not satisfied by the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. They organized attacks on Karabakh and the regions and villages around Karabakh and killed peaceful populations.

On 25-26 February 1992, a terrible massacre occurred in Khojaly. Inhuman Armenians whipped themselves into savagery and cruelty and committed actions that are beyond human comprehension, they wiped out completely a large town. They shot people and scalped them. They stabbed their daggers into the hearts of children and old men, drained their blood. History had not witnessed such mercilessness.

21 years have passed since then. Russia's 366th infantry regiment gave crucial assistance to the Armenians in the organisation and execution of this violent act of terrorism. At the time, the town of Khojaly was blockaded on all sides; its peaceful inhabitants were killed or captured.

In Khojaly 613 people were ruthlessly slaughtered, 657 people were injured, 27 families were totally annihilated. Of another 27 families, only one member survived. Two hundred and thirty families lost their breadwinner, 230 people suffered frostbitten feet, and 1,275 people were taken prisoner.

The Azg newspaper published in Yerevan wrote: *We liberated from the Turk occupiers our lands inherited from our fathers. Glory to those who united the lands with us for the sake of 'Great Armenia'.*

The first phase of the 'Great Armenia' plan, jointly prepared by the international Armenian communities, was implemented together with members of the Armenian *Haydad* and *Asala* organisations. The engine of the T-80 tank, a hugely significant development from Russia's military industry complex, its projectiles included in chemical weaponry, modifications to the Kalashnikov machine gun and vaccines against tuberculosis and anthrax were tested in Khojaly. As a result of these terrible projectile tests, young people's lungs were destroyed. The elderly suffered paralysis of their nervous systems. People were blinded, their blood vessels destroyed. Women could not feed their babies, they were poisoned and died.

After the events in Khojaly, some Russian officers suffered a crisis of conscience and they confessed to the savagery they had carried out. Russian army colonel V. Savelyev witnessed the events in Karabakh and the grave crimes committed in Khojaly. He sent information to President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin in an expansive letter. He wrote: *I confess... I cannot avoid writing this. I cannot forget the bodies of people who had been shot: children, women and pregnant young women. I beg pardon of Azerbaijanis, because I could do nothing about these events that had such bloody and merciless outcome. I just sent secret information to both the Kremlin and to the Ministry of Defence. I said, - Read. See how tarnished was the honour of an officer.*

...In fact, these problems are clearer in the case of the 366th infantry regiment engaged in the ethnic conflict. The fact that in military operations the regiment took the Armenian side and killed Azerbaijanis, the fact that they gave the military equipment and weapons to Armenians already had political significance...

...However, Colonel Zavigarov and other officers joined the Armenians in the operations against Khojaly with the official consent of the army and their command in order to eliminate the positions firing at them.

It is clear from Savelyev's letter that by order of Colonel Sergey Karaulin, chief of headquarters, the commander of the first infantry

battalion was Colonel Arkadiy Moiseyev, commander of the 2nd battalion was Major Sergey Ohanyan and the commander of the 3rd battalion was Major Gavriil Nabokikh and Captain Islag Likhodey.

The tragedy in Khojaly had extensive coverage in the western media. On 12 March 1992, the Armenian journalist Berain Sirajyan wrote in his article *Before the Attack* published in France in the journal *France catholique-Ecclèsia*:

I saw Khojaly with my own eyes. The smell of blood was everywhere. I was scared by the lifeless dead bodies laying on the snow... I was afraid that the Azerbaijani side and future generations would never be silent because of this blood... Today the Russians are with us... We may be alone.

For the Sake of the Cross, a book by the Armenian Davud Kheyriyan was published by the *Al-Sharg* publishing house in Beirut. This book was dedicated to the war in Nagorno-Karabakh. The author wrote:

In order to evade the swamps near Dashbulag village, we went over the dead bodies. I did not want to walk on the bodies. Colonel Ohanyan signed to me not to be scared. He said: 'This is one of the rules of war'. And I stepped forward. My feet and camera were in blood...

In the last car, I saw a girl of about 10 years old. She was wounded in the forehead and hand. The girl was blue, a girl that had stood the cold and hunger was still alive. She was hardly breathing. I cannot forget the eyes of this girl fighting for life. Later this girl would also be burnt in the 'Gafan' oven. Blood was oozing between the fingers of this exhausted girl. A soldier with the surname Tigranyan took her and threw onto the dead bodies ... and then burnt them. After all that, I could not go forward. But I wanted to see Shusha as well...I returned.

NOTE:

We would like to share our opinion on the inveterate chauvinism of Zori Balayan in a few words.

Supporters of justice, politicians of different nationalities, political scientists, historians and journalists know it very well. This person is a violent enemy of Azerbaijan. Zori Balayan was the one who sowed the seed of hostility in relations between Azerbaijan and Armenian up to the events in Khojaly. In 1984, he set two nations against each other with his work *The Hearth*, he began living with the dream of 'Great Armenia'. His negative, aggressive plans obfuscate step by step the brains of Armenians. Perhaps Zori Balayan will be remembered by history for his writings, however, it is clear that his ideas, thoughts and calls for violent enmity were pure froth and will always carry the stigma of fascism and chauvinism. And his works, hidden under Russian armpits, stink. And the time will come when his family and the people of Armenia will want to rid themselves of this stink and obtain a new life in a civil age, and will criticize Zori Balayan. There are many such examples in history. Balayan's Nagorno-Karabakh dream remained frozen in his heart, more exactly at the tip of his pen. This writer expressed his anger and obduracy in his article *The Wounds and Hopes* (*Communist newspaper*, 23.09.1989):

After the events in Sumqayit, Moscow should have settled the Nagorno-Karabakh issue in a few hours.

Unfortunately, this problem was not settled in a few hours. On the contrary, Zori Balayan and Silva Kaputikyan had been in a meeting with the Secretary of the Central Committee, Member of the Politburo Alexander Yakovlev and General Secretary of the Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. For some reason, these hours did not serve the interests of the Balayans, Kaputikyans and Armenians.

Apparently, these Armenian writers who had become used to the promises forgot that Russian politics takes advantage of Armenia and primarily its intellectuals to strengthen its position in the Caucasus. The Balayans and Kaputikyans did not want to believe that. Perhaps they were incapable of understanding?

On March 10, 1992, Russian Minister of Internal Affairs Viktor Yerin gave a letter and a video tape to the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin. The letter stated:

Women, old men and children were shot in Khojaly, the dead bodies were skinned. A video tape prepared by Azerbaijani filmmakers, shows all these terrible deeds. The camera filmed how they had cut the ears from several children. They humiliated the dead bodies and made them unrecognisable. According to information from military intelligence, the filmmaker Mustafayev accuses the 366th infantry regiment of carrying out these actions and is showing the video everywhere. (See: *Voyenniye vedomosti*. St. Petersburg publishing house, 1998, p. 96.)

After watching the tape, Yeltsin signed a special order for work to be done in response, (0219-21-OD -1992) he charged the military intelligence agencies not to allow the filming of such videos that might tarnish the honour of Russian soldiers.

Yes, the Russian leadership was ready to take any dirty measure to prevent the presentation to the world of the terrible actions committed by Armenians and Russian servicemen in Khojaly. The murder of the patriot and brave son of Azerbaijan, the filmmaker Chingiz Mustafayev, happened after that letter and order given to the intelligence agencies.

According to information from the State Commission of the Milli Mejlis on missing people and prisoners of war in 2004, as a result of the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, 4,000 Azerbaijanis had been captured. Most of the captives had been taken after the savagery committed in Khojaly in 1992. The fate of 783 of those who were captured in the period from 1992 to 1995 is still unknown. The Armenians hide it from all international organizations

We would like to bring to readers' attention some of the terrible stories that took place in Khojaly. Our purpose is not to show how people died, but to expose Armenian cruelty.

M. Aliyeva:

We ran through the forest. We often fell into the snow. I was shot in my arm when we crossed the road. There was a heavy fire in the dense forest. Alif took my arm and pulled me to the side of the road. Then he hid in the bushes and began shooting. The firing in the forest stopped for a moment. Alif called to the women hiding on the other side of the road and told them not to raise their heads and to cross the road carefully. Then about twenty women and children crossed the road. Alif reloaded his gun. The Armenians began shooting. Alif was shot in the forehead. It was a terrible sight.

M. Mammadov:

I work as a teacher in Sumqayit. I provided education for the youth. Khojaly is my homeland. When I remember those days, I cannot hold back my tears. It was winter. It was snowing heavily. Unarmed people had been shot. We all ran away. They killed my father and brother. The snow was coloured red. I often see this colour in my dreams. I liked playing with snow as a child, but now I don't like it when it is snowing, because I see the snow as red. I saw the open eyes of dead bodies lying around and I heard the moaning of the wounded. I, my daughter and my grandson ran away through the snowy forest. I wanted to save my cousin who was wounded. I told my daughter to take the baby and run. My daughter said that she could not go without me. I shouted at her, I told her: "Run or the Armenians will come and kill all of us". My daughter took the baby in her arms and ran to the forest. After she had gone some distance, they were shot. I wandered who had been shot: my daughter or grandchild. I had to leave the wounded man and go to them (anyway I could not help him, he had lost a lot of blood and was dying), I ran after my daughter. When I got closer I saw that my daughter was wounded and the baby was on the snow. I could hardly hold back my tears. I wanted to take both of them in my arms. They were heavy. I took a few steps, but could not walk in the snow. The Armenians followed us. My daughter began begging: "Dad, please take the baby and run, I am wounded, I can't go on".

How could I leave my children? I thought that even if we died, we would die together. As if hearing my thoughts, my daughter said: "Dad, please don't let my baby die. Take the baby and run. Be both father and mother for him. If you love me, please take my baby and run!"

I could not stand it anymore. The Armenians were already close. I hugged my daughter, then I took my baby and ran to the forest...

S.Talibova:

They brought us to the Armenian cemetery. I don't know what happened there. They killed four Akhiska Turks and three Azerbaijanis on one grave. Then they cut off their heads. After that, the soldiers and mercenaries began killing children in front of their parents' eyes. They gouged out their eyes with the knives they had in their hands...

Yes, many such situations occurred. And all were terrible scenes. There is no doubt that the Armenians' fascist policy will be held in disgrace before the world. There have been many wars, conflicts and outrages in the world. If we look at the 20th century we see that the earth is always in flames. Those who enact their fascist plans always become victims of their own dirty deeds.

Victims of Khojaly





Those who stain history, people and humanity are never forgotten. Let us remember the 20th century. We do not want to talk about the terrible suffering, oppression, destruction and tears brought to the world by World War I and World War II. Let us remember Khatin village, Babi yar, Songmi villages. Today, the Khojaly tragedy rests with them. How could those who intend to lead the world accept this as a victory for their politics? The great disasters that took place in these villages should make people sound the alarm to prevent future wars on Earth, and provide the conditions for people to live in peace.

Today there is one issue that disturbs us and causes us concern. Armenians often talk about 'genocide', however, they committed genocide themselves, in Khojaly. The whole world knows it. Notwithstanding that, the crimes of the Armenian law enforcement bodies before Khojaly can never be cleansed.

Note well: the bloody events in Sumqayit occurred from 27-29 February 1988. On 27 February, Ismat Qayibov, the former prosecutor of Sumqayit, launched the criminal case and the investigation began. As we mentioned above, more than one thousand people were interrogated, 94 people were imprisoned for various terms, and one person was sentenced to death. The law enforcement bodies of Azerbaijan had been responsible for resolving every crime committed during the unrest in the city, they carried out their duties with the purpose of punishing the criminals. We return to our previous theme:

**IF THERE IS A CRIME,
THEN THERE IS PUNISHMENT AS WELL!**

We want to say to the leadership of Armenia and to the Nagorno-Karabakh separatists: The Sumqayit city Prosecutor's Office began an immediate investigation into the first death in the events that took place in Sumqayit.

In KHOJALY 613 people were murdered, 1,275 people were taken prisoner. Not one person has been charged with criminal responsibility by the leadership and law enforcement agencies of Armenia for this measureless crime – the Khojaly genocide. While those who killed

should be brought to justice, a large group of criminals led by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Robert Kocharyan and Serzh Sargsyan are still free.

This goes against all norms of international law. Other countries, international organizations, intelligence agencies, intellectuals, and primarily Russia and its military forces, know very well who led the genocide, who ordered and who executed. However, for some reason, they prefer to remain silent on this topic. No punishment is applied to these criminal elements, on the contrary, those responsible are elected presidents of the Armenian Republic. We wander, in which other countries do 'heroes' who participate in committing genocide then lead the country? Can their policy be peaceful? No! Their policy, their conduct, smells only of blood. The blood of hundreds, thousands of people! Is it not high time to pay for this blood? In any event, these violent criminals will have to answer to history. The punishment that Beria faced following the death of Stalin will also be applied to the Ter-Petrosyans, Kocharyans and Sargsyans. There is no doubt about that. There is law and morality. Although it seems that in them morality is replaced by the ethics of fascism.

Apparently, the criminals who committed savagery in Khojaly have not read Dostoyevsky's novel 'Crime and Punishment'. If those criminals were not afraid of God, they are godless, and one day they will stand before the divine court. It will happen for sure!!!

ALL PEOPLE WHO COMMITTED CRIMES IN SUMQAYIT HAVE BEEN HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR THE CRIMINAL ACTIONS AND PUNISHED. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ALSO DEMANDED THIS OF AZERBAIJAN. THE PEOPLE OF AZERBAIJAN STOOD FOR JUSTICE AND PROVED TO THE WORLD THAT THE INJUSTICE THAT OCCURRED IN SUMQAYIT DID NOT OVERRULE THE LAW, ON THE CONTRARY, THE LAW OVERRULED INJUSTICE, AND THE CRIMINALS WERE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE QUESTION ARISES: 613 PEACEFUL PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN KHOJALY, WHERE IS JUSTICE FROM THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE? WHY HAVE THE MURDERERS WHO COMMITTED THOSE CRIMES STILL NOT BEEN BROUGHT BEFORE A COURT? PERHAPS THE LEADERSHIP OF ARMENIA DOES NOT HAVE THE COURAGE TO DO THAT?

PERHAPS THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE WHO LIVE WITH THE DREAM OF A 'GREAT ARMENIA' CONSIDER THEMSELVES THE MOST 'HUMANITARIAN' NATION IN THE WORLD, BY TAKING THE BLOOD OF PEACEFUL PEOPLE? IF SO, THEN LET THEM ONCE MORE TAKE A LOOK AT THEIR OWN HISTORY. LET THEM SEE THAT THE 'HUMANITARIANISM' WE ARE TALKING ABOUT HAS NEVER BROUGHT RESPECT TO THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE. DOES A NATION THAT ALWAYS PRESENTS ITSELF AS 'POOR AND WHIMPERING' HAVE ANY PRIDE?

“German Nazis, as well as forcing the captives to do hard work, burned them in the ovens at the Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps. Armenian fascists tortured Azerbaijani captives terribly, they exported the organs of healthy captives to the foreign countries”.

(Yeni Azerbaijan newspaper, 2006)

To suppress the movement for national liberation in Azerbaijan, the Soviet empire conducted dirty operations, in other words, provocation. Without consent from either government or people of Azerbaijan, Soviet troops entered Baku on 20 January 1990 and shed blood; as a result more than one hundred people died and hundreds were wounded. However, events that followed were even more terrible and more bloody. In February 1992, Khojaly, then Shusha and Lachin; in 1993 the regions of Kalbajar, Fuzuli, Agdara, Jabrail, Agdam, Gubadli, and Zangilan were occupied by the Armenians. We will give brief information about these events in due course. In any case, we wish to acquaint readers with the savagery committed by Armenians on Azerbaijani lands.

In the Armenian-Azerbaijani war, the aggressors killed 20,000 Azerbaijanis and wounded 100,000. 50,000 people got various injuries. 4,853 people went missing, 439 of them had been captured, 783 people are still in captivity. During the Armenian occupation, 900 settlements were destroyed and 7,000 industrial and agricultural enterprises were seized. These include 700 educational and 665 health care facilities, 22 museums, about 100,000 museum exhibits, historical and cultural monuments. 17,000 hectares of fertile lands in the occupied areas were subjected to erosion, mined and rendered useless. 1,000 kilometres of road, 160 bridges, 23,000 water pipelines and 15,000 electricity lines were destroyed.

The occupied regions were as follows:

City of SHUSHA. Occupied by Armenians on 8 May 1992. Area: 289 km², population: 24, 900.

During the war, 193 people were killed, 102 people were disabled. The Armenian occupiers burnt or destroyed 27 industrial and construction facilities, 103 cultural institutions, 31 settlements and villages and 17 historical monuments.

LACHIN region. Occupied by Armenians on 18 May 1992. Area: 1875 km², population: 60,000.

During the war 259 people were killed, 225 people were disabled. 575 cultural institutions, 26 settlements and villages and 12 historical monuments were burnt or destroyed,.

KALBAJAR region. Occupied by Armenians on 2 April 1993. Area: 1036 km², population: 55,000.

During the war 217 people were killed, 49 people were disabled. 29 industrial and construction facilities, 132 cultural institutions, 132 settlements and villages and 87 historical monuments were burnt or destroyed.

City of AGDAM. Occupied by Armenians on 23 July 1993. Area: 1154 km², population: 158,000.

During the war 538 people were killed, 587 people were disabled. 48 industrial and construction facilities, 598 cultural institutions, 122 settlements and villages, and 27 historical monuments were burnt or destroyed.

JABRAIL region. Occupied by Armenians on 23 August 1993. Area: 1050 km², population: 52,049.

During the war 347 people were killed, 172 people were disabled. 197 cultural institutions, 90 settlements and villages were burnt or destroyed.

FUZULI region. Occupied by Armenians on 23 August 1993. Area: 1112 km², population: 95,940.

During the war 528 people were killed, 1,309 people were disabled. 145 cultural institutions, 54 settlements and villages and 15 historical monuments were burnt or destroyed.

QUBADLI region. Occupied by Armenians on 31 August 1993. Area: 826 km², population: 33,800.

During the war 232 people were killed, 146 people were disabled. 205 cultural institutions, 94 settlements and villages and 12 historical monuments were burnt or destroyed.

ZANGILAN region. Occupied by Armenians on 29 October 1993. Area: 707 km², population: 35,500.

During the war, 191 people were killed, 110 people were disabled. 138 cultural institutions, 81 settlements and villages, 13 historical monuments were burnt or destroyed.

We should mention one more fact about the Armenian savagery. Many Azerbaijanis were taken captive from the occupied regions. They are used as donors. Various of their bodily organs were extracted and exported to foreign countries. This is a feature of fascism. Germans burnt the prisoners of war in the ovens at the Auschwitz concentration camp, after extracting their organs. Armenians also learned this terrible savagery from the German Nazis.

There are currently a million refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs) from the occupied lands residing in various regions of Azerbaijan. Many of them went to Sumqayit. The people of Sumqayit greeted them all as brothers and sisters and tried to help them as much as possible.

Note the information given below:

Number of IDPs from the occupied regions
of the Azerbaijan Republic settled in Sumqayit
(as at 01.03.1999)

	Occupied region	Number of IDP families	Number of IDPs
1	Khojaly	57	222
2	Shusha	130	586
3	Lachin	1242	4664
4	Khojavand	65	262
5	Kalbajar	100	369
6	Jabrail	1233	4526
7	Fuzuli	1401	5052
8	Gubadli	5396	19790
9	Zangilan	1443	5521
10	Agdam	584	2180
	Total:	11651	43172

“Russia gave the weapons to Armenians without contract or conditions, to be exact, secretly”.

(Lev Rokhlin, former Deputy of the Russian Duma)

After the events in Sumqayit, the Armenian nationalists, with Russian help, occupied 20% of the lands of Azerbaijan. Where did Armenians obtain the arms? This is a dilettante's question. Let's try to give a comprehensive answer.

The newspaper *Le Journal du Dimanche*, published in Paris, wrote on 24 January 1990: *In recent days, planeloads of heavy military equipment, mortars and machine guns continued to arrive in Yerevan from Lebanon. They are unloaded at night time under the supervision of the Armenian customs service. They were released from republic responsibility and were mainly supplied to extremist Armenians. Not a single Russian has served in the airport customs service for several days. It may be that shipping of these weapons began in September. From the moment the national conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh began, many armed people, including terrifyingly highly-strung youth, ready for anything could be encountered in Yerevan, the villages and in the area between the capital and the border with Azerbaijan. You can see that these groups are led by Armenians who have mainly arrived from Beirut and Damascus. Some of them have close relations with Lebanese terrorists and armed Christian groups. Hundreds of Lebanese Armenians who are well-versed in street-fighting tactics came here without visas. Some have been placed in Yerevan, but the rest have departed for the border regions of Gorus and Khanlar. As in neighbouring republics, the Karabakh Committee controlled these organizations to use against Azerbaijan. Only this committee can give you a helicopter to go to the country's east. This Karabakh Committee is a real militarized committee.*

As is clear, the Armenian community living abroad gave assistance to Ter-Petrosyan, leader of the Karabakh Committee, in the early 1990s and continues to do so. And it is impossible to divert this committee from its wretched path. If Nagorno-Karabakh was not in Armenian hands, then thousands of mothers and workers would punish severely Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Robert Kocharyan and current president Serzh Sarksyian. Because their children died in the war for Karabakh. Thus Karabakh had to be seized. The Armenian leadership understood that very well.

The Armenians want to strengthen their position in Karabakh. Today, Karabakh is a 'life or death' issue for Serzh Sarksyian and his team. In 2010, in United States, Sarksyian stated in an interview with the mass media that they had established the state of Armenia that they had historically dreamed of and they would continue to work for its independence; they had also achieved the establishment of an independent state in Nagorno-Karabakh, which had its own army, arms and military equipment.

Russia's Armenian lobby and the Armenian Gregorian Church stand behind those words. If he had no one to rely on, he would not make such irresponsible and smug statements. Today, there are forces in Russia, particularly in Moscow, which support the Armenians; they provide material and technical assistance to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.



Lev Rokhlin

In early 1997, Russia sent military equipment totalling 1 billion US dollars to Armenia, free of charge. This was revealed by Aman Tuleyev, former Russian minister responsible for the Commonwealth of Independent States. Lieutenant General Lev Rokhlin, chairman of the Russian Parliamentary Defence Committee, confirmed this at a meeting of the Duma. In April 1997, the newspaper *Trud* wrote: *The dismantling of the property of the former USSR 7th army in Armenia had been completed in 1992. However, from 1993-96, large amounts of additional arms had been supplied to Yerevan. At first sight, this is not surprising; the arms trade is the most profitable one in the world. However, Russia gave the weapons to Armenians without contract or conditions, to be exact, secretly...* It is shown in a report by General Rokhlin that from 1992-94 in Zakavkaziya, military equipment and weapons was issued from the army warehouses without directive:

- rocket-artillery weapons – more than 9,500 items;
- 600 wagons of military ammunition;
- 72 anti-tank weapons and equipment;

- Fuel for 21,314 items of military equipment and 64,200 tons of vehicle fuel;

- Communication supplies and equipment - 5,977 communication sets and 41,003 kilometres of field cable...

Such negligence, the arming of the Armenian army took place mainly at the time when Pavel Grachev was Russia's Minister of Defence and Mikhail Kolesnikov was chief of headquarters. Rokhlin was sure that these actions were carried out under their direct supervision.

THE TABLE OF WEAPONS SOLD ILLEGALLY TO ARMENIA

**The price is in USD from January 1993 to January 1996
(at average commercial prices)**

TITLE	QUANTITY	TOTAL VALUE
PU OTR	8	1,680,000
Qruq ZRK	27	8,100,000
ZRK rockets	349	104,700,000
OSA rockets	40	8,000,000
T-72 tanks	40	8,000,000
BMP-2	50	14,000,000
122 mm-mk QD30	36	1,872,000
152 MM-MK QD-1	18	900,000
152 MM-MK QD-20	18	720,000
GRADs	18	4,500,000
Mortars	26	312,000
"Igla"	40	1,600,000
Launchers	20	50,000
Machineguns	306	122,400
Machineguns	7,910	949,200
Guns	1,947	110,820

Various ammunition	489,160	195,664,000
BMP-2 “S” ammunition-30	47,880	14,354,400
BMP QUR	4	1,320,000
Hand-grenades	345,800	27,253,000
Bullets (various)	227,253,000	27,253,000
Other types of weapons	270	270,000,000
Total approximately		1,000,000,000

It is clear from the table that the Russian Federation Ministry of Defence, with the direct participation of former minister Grachev sent large amount of arms and military equipment to Armenia. It is known that were provided to Armenia free of charge. However, this is difficult to believe. It is true that the officials of the Ministry of Defence of Russia led by Grachov did not provide the arms to Armenians for nothing. It is clear from subsequent events that they received certain amounts in bribes from Armenians. If this were not true, the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* would not have written about the villas and special bank accounts held by the generals of the Ministry of Defence in foreign countries, and their mansions built in the suburbs of Moscow. Corruption and bribery reached the highest levels in Russia. They profited from the relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan in their own interest. However, the war between the two neighbouring republics was not limited to increasing the personal capital of individuals. The war between Azerbaijan and Armenia had a more global character. In April 1997, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* newspaper, published in New York, wrote: *A huge political scandal in Moscow involving secret military shipments of \$1 billion worth of arms to Armenia has ripple effects that reach all the way to America's shores...*

... This story reflects all the elements of the espionage thrillers of the Cold War period. The difference is that now, the Cold War had been replaced by the struggle between America and Russia over the world's oil resources. American oil companies invested billions of dollars into the consortium to extract Azerbaijan's oil. However, it did not suit Russia for the oil to be put on the market. Thus it kept a tight grip on Armenia.

Is Russia's policy in the Caucasus one of goodwill? It would like to take Azerbaijan's oil under control at any cost, however that is not so easily done. Azerbaijan is an independent state and has its own independent policy. On the other hand, the United States, the UK, Turkey and a number of other European states are interested in Azerbaijani oil and they support Azerbaijan on this issue. What about Russia? We can say that Russia stayed out of Azerbaijan's oil. The Baku-Supsa, Baku-Erzurum, Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipelines are proof of that. This greatly irritates Russia. It makes skilful use of Armenia to pressurise upon Azerbaijan. The long-lasting war between Azerbaijan and Armenia is evidence.

“Armenians established a ‘nuclear zone’ in Nagorno-Karabakh. The territory was encircled by barbed wire. Waste has been transported in special boxes with A-T003 and buried in special holes at previously determined villages and sites”.

(Khalg Gazeti newspaper, 20 February 2003)

The involvement of the Karabakh Committee functioning in Yerevan and the KRUNK society established in the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region in initiating the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict cannot be denied. The membership of these organizations mainly consisted of intellectuals. The leader of the Karabakh Committee was former president of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosyan. The committee emerged into the open in 1988 and was distinguished by its radicalism and extremism. The aim was not to make any compromise. Levon Ter-Petrosyan stated in an interview to *The Times* newspaper (we are talking about 1988. - author) that, even if the Armenian demand for Nagorno-Karabakh to be given to Armenia were realized, the protest movement must continue. He said: ***If we achieve our aim, the movement will continue its activity as an expression of the people's will.*** It is clear, then, that he worked for long-term objectives.

The activity of the Karabakh Committee is, so to speak, multipurpose, however, its particularly illogical and unreasonable style is evident.

According to the Armenian editorial office of the *Voice of America* radio station on 13 September 1988, if the claims on Nagorno-Karabakh were resolutely rejected, the Karabakh Committee had prepared a completely new, extraordinary plan and considered it to be a serious option. According to the editorial office, the Armenians of Karabakh should achieve secession from the USSR and then request to re-join as part of the Armenian SSR. If it proved to be impossible to realize this plan, there was another even more cunning, but adventurous option. According to the constitution of the USSR, the NKAR had no right of self-determination; however the Armenian SSR did have such a right. Thus the radio suggested that Armenia would itself make a request to enter Nagorno-Karabakh and establish a new Armenian republic, Artsakh, with Stepanakert as its capital. The existing Armenia, including Yerevan, would be subordinate to Artsakh.

Former presidents of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Robert Kocharyan and the current president Serzh Sarksyan were involved in the bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh. That cannot be denied. All three presidents came to power on the Nagorno-Karabakh wave. Ter-Petrosyan supported the idea of a peaceful settlement of the conflict. However, the internal policy that he conducted was clear. During the presidential elections and before he promised the people that he would settle the Nagorno-Karabakh problem in Armenia's favour. Former president Robert Kocharyan who succeeded him and current president Serzh Sarksyan promised the same. They wanted to play for time and take Nagorno-Karabakh under their control. Every time the issue is close to resolution, a new president comes to power in Armenia and asks for additional time in his conversations with the heads of great states because, time to study fully the problems that exist. Thus, they temporise and the peace negotiations are delayed.

Nagorno-Karabakh has already been under de facto occupation for 25 years. Twenty percent of our territories are occupied. Azerbaijani resources are ransacked, sold, its products are sent to various countries. In Kalbajar, the Armenians extract *Isti Su* mineral water and sell 25 million bottles a year abroad, stating its origin as 'Artsakh, Armenia', for 5 dollars per bottle. At the gold ore seams in Kalbajar, Armenians and private American companies enrich themselves by stealing our national resources. In the late 1990s, the government of Azerbaijan sent a protest letter to the US government and demanded the recall of the company working in Kalbajar.

The administration of former US president Bill Clinton responded that, according to US law, the government could not interfere with the activity of private companies.

Armenians not only benefit from Azerbaijan's land. They have even more unpleasant plans. On 20 February 2003, the newspaper *Khalq Gazeti* wrote: *Armenians established a 'nuclear zone' in Nagorno-Karabakh. The territory was encircled by barbed wire. Waste has been transported in special boxes with A-T003 and buried in special holes at previously determined villages and sites.*

Research reveals that there are plans to bury toxic substances in the villages of Kolatag, Seyidbeyli and Almali villages of Khojaly. In 2002, 11 iron boxes were buried in Kolatag village alone. Seyidbayli and Almali villages have been turned into cemeteries for toxic substances.

The famous Japanese writer and political scientist Francis Fukuyama commented sharply on all this in his book *The End of Order: There will be certain states that will always be at war. They burst out their hatred and anger on the environment and the local population. They will poison the soil and water, burn trees and flowers. This terror against nature and humans will have neither moral nor conscience.*

One more example. On 21 July 2001, a 'secret' document of 30 pages was compiled in the US. It was dedicated to issues of the US's military strategy and includes this: *America should defend itself against nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. It should increase its control over the important sites in the the world. This document details the important objects in the various regions of Europe, Asia and East Asia. These are the places where wars and conflicts exist.*

After the Armenians occupied Gubadli region, they turned it into a 'cemetery for nuclear waste'. They established special areas in the Garajalli, Gayali, Mahmudlu, Sari Yatag villages of the region, between the Bargushad and Haraki rivers and buried nuclear waste there. This work is done by activists of the 'radioactive group' working in the Nagorno-Karabakh. In 2000, 22 members of that group went to the military hospital. They had blood cancer. After demobilization the soldiers who married had children who developed various serious illnesses.

Armenians also work on the development of biological weapons in the occupied territories. A member of the Milli Mejlis (Parliament) said at the

Council of Europe that in the occupied Fuzuli region, the Armenians had established a biological laboratory. They produce tuberous bacillus there and then throw them into the Araz River. As we know, the Araz and Kura rivers meet and the Kura flows into Caspian Sea. In recent years, although Azerbaijan's Ministry of Health has struggled hard against tuberculosis, there is no end to the Armenians' cruelty. However, the time will come when Armenia and its nationalist forces will be held responsible for their sins.

We would like to touch upon one more issue. The Armenians also use Nagorno-Karabakh as a transit zone for the transportation of drugs. These uncontrolled territories bring in large profits. The drugs are brought along the Afghanistan-Iran-Nagorno-Karabakh route to Armenia and from there passed on to Russia. Armenians feel so free that they grow heroin on the fertile soil of Kalbajar and Lachin. Entrance to those zones is absolutely forbidden to strangers. Mercenaries taken there from Columbia and Syria cherish those territories as the apples of their eyes. In short, drug barons expand the area for growing heroin. That is why many Armenians, with patrons living abroad, do not wish to see a peace agreement between Armenia and Azerbaijan. If a peace agreement is signed, millions of US dollars will be lost. Neither former presidents Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Robert Kocharyan, nor current president Serzh Sargsyan want a quick settlement of the conflict. They regard themselves as the winners of the war for Nagorno-Karabakh. But they are mistaken; time and history are not in their favour. There was a time when nobody in the world knew about Azerbaijan.

Today, Azerbaijan is developing. Its economic leap is clear to all. Now it is known in the world, its peaceful policy is supported. Thus, one day Armenians will understand that their policy has brought misfortune to their people rather than happiness and they will bring the populist leaders – heroes - to court. Why do the United States, the UK, France, Russia, and Iran who all have information about the disreputable actions of the Armenians, keep silent? Why do they keep silent when, besides paralysing the occupied lands, Armenians grow drugs on those lands and use the territory for the transit of the drugs that destroy future generations? Perhaps they have interests here? Perhaps this is a secret competition or even war between the big states? Who knows? Ultimately, both peoples are suffering. All are tired of the war. It is time to stop it.

“The USSR State Security Committee was involved in the events that took place in Sumqayit. Military troops had been sent to the city previously. Then why they did not prevent the unrest? There is no doubt that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem stands behind the Sumqayit events”.

(Alexander Yakovlev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Member of the Politburo 1986-1991).

Above, we wrote about Alexander Yakovlev, the main architect of the policy of *perestroika* announced by Mikhail Gorbachev, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Member of the Politburo. We should now give more comprehensive information about this man. In the period of



Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, Yakovlev worked as at the position of the head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. With the recommendation of the Politburo, he was appointed an Ambassador of USSR to Canada. He occupied this position for about twenty years. After Gorbachev came to power, Yakovlev was recalled to Moscow and, in a short period, he was elected a secretary of the Central Committee and the member of Politburo. Gorbachev trusted him because all issues relating to the west had been agreed with him.

In the early 1990s, in an interview given to the authors of the *Echo of Sumqayit* documentary film, Yakovlev stated: *We eliminated the ‘cold war’ between two systems. The rapid increase in large-scale weapons was slowed. There is no doubt that Gorbachev did great service with these achievements; that is undeniable. Together with Gorbachev we completed a historical revolution. The USSR collapsed, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was liquidated, but ethnic conflicts escalated. To be honest,*

these conflicts were not between nations, they were struggles for power between different mafia-type structures and clans that created ethnic conflicts in order to seize power. Of course, the Central Committee of the Communist Party was not blameless here. Its greatest political fault was in 1986. Dinmukhamed Kunayev, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan was relieved of his position. He was also a member of the Politburo. This was done on the recommendation of the Russian Kolbin, who was not familiar with Kazakhstan. Of course, it caused a reaction in the Republic. The mafia structures and separate clans that had grown in strength over the years went onto to the streets to express their discontent. And blood was shed.

- That was a mistake in Gorbachev's manpower policy – said Yakovlev. He went on to share his ideas about Nagorno-Karabakh and the events in Sumqayit. For him, the USSR State Security Committee, the military industry complex and a range of mafia-controlled forces had been involved in the events that took place in Sumqayit. There was the question: Why? Those forces were testing Gorbachev's ability to stay in power. The State Security Committee called it a conflict that arose on ethnic grounds. That's false. There were military troops in Sumqayit. They could have intervened. Who needed that situation? There is no doubt that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was behind the events in Sumqayit. The Armenians had raised the issue many times with Gorbachev. We should admit that in the early years it was believed that the issue would be settled in the Armenians' favour. However, the people of Azerbaijan were resolute and the Nagorno-Karabakh problem became a tangle; Gorbachev stalled. The issue was raised with him when he was on foreign trips and met representatives of the Armenian Gregorian Church and the Armenian community. He was at stalemate.

I would like to touch upon the issue of 20 January. Blood was shed in Baku from 13-14 January 1990. By 17 January it was calm again. Then why did they send troops to Baku on 20 January? Because, there were certain forces that wanted that. And they got what they wanted. Yes, Gorbachev is very much guilty of sending the troops to Baku, because he gave the order. As a result, more than one hundred people died. Was that democracy brought in by perestroika? Personally, I am against this type of democracy. None of the ethnic conflicts that took place in the country were

between nationalities; they were between individual politicians and clans. They used people through this issue, they called for people to be patriotic, however, they were working their dirty politics behind a curtain of ethnic conflict.

Of course, we cannot say how much truth there is in Yakovlev's words. We should just state that he, Gorbachev and their close associates caused the collapse of a great empire.

In the Soviet era politicians did not view Yakovlev's position unambiguously. Many democratic forces agreed with his position, however, many criticized him sharply.

NOTE:

The former chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, Vladimir Kryuchkov, wrote in his book *Lichnoye delo* (Personal File): *Yakovlev had a special role in the onset of instability in the Baltic States and the Caucasus. The Baltic republics encouraged nationalist and separatist sentiments by all means. He always defended their wish for separation. In the Caucasus he sympathised with Armenia, as a matter of fact he incited them to rise against Azerbaijan. He exacerbated events around the Karabakh problem. In short, he always expressed openly biased opinions against Azerbaijan.*

Kryuchkov had a generally negative opinion of Yakovlev. He obtained information that he was an agent of the US Central Intelligence Agency and presented this information to Gorbachev, however Gorbachev gave it no attention.

Yegor Ligachev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and member of the Politburo, wrote in his book *The Gorbachev Riddle*: *Gorbachev had an unambiguous position on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Then he had to change his opinion. Perhaps his opinion changed because the conflict between two nations flared up very*



quickly. This issue had been discussed several times by the Politburo. In May 1988, in connection with the replacement of the leadership in Armenia and Azerbaijan, I was to go to Azerbaijan and Yakovlev to Armenia. Before flying to Baku, I met Gorbachev, acquainted him with the theme of my speech and mentioned that the borders were immutable and there should not be any territorial claims. Gorbachev agreed and wished me a good trip. After returning from Baku it seemed to me that Yakovlev, for sure, would have touched upon the Karabakh problem in his speech in Yerevan and acted in accordance with the decision of the Politburo, however, I was told that in Yerevan he did not say one word about Karabakh. I obtained the speech he made in Yerevan and, really, he just silently passed over the Karabakh problem. I was very much surprised.

“In character, M. Gorbachev was a very indecisive and cowardly man. By handing over power to Yeltsin he put an end to the collapse of USSR.

Former US President George Bush (George Bush, Sr.), UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the United States Central Intelligence Agency spy Alexander Yakovlev played major roles in this”.

(Vladimir Kryuchkov, Chairman of the State Security Committee of the USSR 1987-1991)

We mentioned above that the leadership of Armenian, its intelligence bodies, and the “Krunk” society were involved in the events that took place in Sumqayit. However, who assisted them? Analysis of the materials shows that it was Moscow, the State Security Committee and the Military Industry Complex.

Former Chairman of the State Security Committee of the USSR, Vladimir Kryuchkov said in an interview with journalists for the documentary film *Echo of Sumqayit: The social and political processes that occurred in the country before the revolt in August 1991, information about the situation in the country, the confrontations between various organisations, the provocations conducted by the intelligence agencies of foreign countries within the USSR etc. had been given wide coverage by the mass media published in foreign countries.*

We promptly informed Gorbachev about events that could happen in the USSR. However, he did not take this information seriously. Eventually, conflict erupted and blood was shed. And when these issues were discussed in the Politburo he blamed the security, defence and law enforcement agencies. In August 1991 a state of emergency was declared in the country. We got permission for that from Gorbachev in Foros. So what eventually happened?



Gorbachev returned to Moscow and betrayed all his comrades. Gorbachev gave as an excuse the fact that the telephones in Foros did not work but, in fact, he had telephone conversations with US President Bush and Yeltsin, who was in opposition. As a result, many high-ranking officials were arrested. Gorbachev by handing over power to Yeltsin, caused the collapse of the USSR. The 'putsch' was just a farce.

Here, we note: in 1990, Yeltsin's associate Poltaranin who later worked as Minister of Press and Information of the Russian Federation wrote in his memoirs *When the emergency situation was announced, Khasbulatov and I went to Yeltsin. He was sleeping. We woke him and informed him about the situation. He gestured reluctantly and said: 'It has started'. Khasbulatov told Yeltsin that an address to the people should be prepared urgently. I supported him. Initially, Yeltsin refused, when we insisted he agreed. Khasbulatov wrote the address. Yeltsin read it out standing on tank. Then he got down and we went to the basement of Government House. There was a big banquet there. The feast began. Yeltsin drank a lot. Later we understood that it was a political trick to bring down the USSR. And this trick was prepared by the US intelligence bodies with Gorbachev's consent. Thus former US president George Bush Sr. was the first to be informed about the rebellion. Years have passed since that time. It is clear to us now that the events in Alma-Ati, Sumqayit, Tbilisi, Fergana, Uzen, Vilnius and Baku could not have happened without Gorbachev's consent.*

Then Kryuchkov stated in his interview: *The strained situation, the chaos that erupted in the country in 1990 and 1991s worried us. The law was not observed, production declined, inflation rose, people's living standards were very low, corruption riddled the land, organized crime increased and the country was splitting apart.*

In character, Gorbachev was a very indecisive and cowardly man. He played a double game with us. By taking Yeltsin's side he put an end to his political career. Of course, Alexander Yakovlev was behind this double game. Yakovlev used Gorbachev as a puppet to demolish the USSR and liquidate the Communist Party. The USSR's political leaders, law enforcement bodies and state structures had been involved in the bloodshed in Azerbaijan, particularly in Sumqayit and Baku. We have to admit that.

However, it should also be mentioned who was leading these processes. Gorbachev! The Armenians had great influence. And Gorbachev had promised the rich Armenian community living abroad that he would settle the Karabakh problem in their favour.

When the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was raised - continued Kryuchkov - we knew the outcome would be. The establishment of extremist group and transfer of arms from abroad to Armenia gave us serious concern and we informed Gorbachev. But he remained silent and even called some of the facts a provocation. The Armenians made claims to the lands of Nagorno-Karabakh. However, the Azerbaijanis were absolutely against that. And it led to conflict between the two neighbouring states. Yet this was not the end of the tragedy. The tragedy lay ahead. A part of your territories would be occupied by Armenians and it is not known when they will be returned. Azerbaijan's underground natural resources are of interest to foreign countries and transnational corporations. Who will get the largest share? Nagorno-Karabakh was a stake in the oil trade. The one with the longest arm and biggest capital will own the 'black gold'. That is the main issue.

Yes, Gorbachev was under influence. His regular foreign visits, regular meetings with the presidents and diplomats of foreign states had a dramatic impact on his thinking and he soon began displaying an interest in western democracy. The politicians, political scientists and economists living abroad took advantage of Gorbachev's interest and encouraged him to take further steps. In the early 1990s, while discontent with Gorbachev increased among the people of the USSR, he was gaining more and more sympathy abroad. There is no doubt that hundreds of institutions, study centres and other bodies working abroad, made every effort to wipe out the socialist camp. In this Gorbachev was their tool.

“If M. Gorbachev had taken precise and firm measures from the outset, if he had firmly declared that the lands were untouchable, there would have been no destruction, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem would not have arisen and the Sumqayit events would not have taken place”.

(Viktor Ilyukhin, Former deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation)

As we mentioned above, Sumqayit became a principal factor in the demolition of the USSR. We already know who ordered and who executed this bloody action. However, because an interview given in Moscow by Viktor Ilyukhin, the well-known former deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, was very interesting in its content and political character, we present it here. There were two opinions about him in Moscow. One had him as a pure, professional lawyer guided by principle, a patriot faithful to the communist idea. However, his opponents were so-called democrats who demolished the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.



Ilyukhin blamed Gorbachev for the collapse of the Soviet Union: *His indecision and political inexperience isolated the republics from each other. And Nagorno-Karabakh was one cause of the country's collapse. The conflict, whose script had been developed abroad and implemented by its executors, began gradually, but systematically to destroy the USSR. And Gorbachev, instead of suppressing the ethnic conflict, stirred it up even more. If he had taken precise and firm measures from the outset, if he had firmly declared that the lands were untouchable, there would have been no destruction, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem would not have arisen and the Sumqayit events would not have taken place. Ligachev also told Gorbachev this after returning from Baku. However, he paid no*

attention. We had a common state, common people, common home and common family. This home, this family was destroyed and the generations to come will never forgive us for that. After the events in Karabakh, the number of hot spots began to increase. The new democrats had a large role in inciting these new ethnic conflicts. They were covered widely in the mass media with assistance from Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo, Alexander Yakovlev.

Take note: after the events in Sumqayit, how did the mass media present Azerbaijanis? As savages, cutthroats and bandits. But why they did not write about the Azerbaijanis who hid hundreds of Armenians at home, saving them from the Armenian extremists? Because it was not advantageous for Moscow. It was policy. Gorbachev made skilful use of Yakovlev to take Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and give it to Armenia. Vladimir Kryuchkov, the former chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, published an article 'The Ambassador of Misfortune' in the Sovetskaya Rossiya newspaper in February 1993. Kryuchkov called Yakovlev an agent of the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

Yakovlev benefitted from the publicity and assembled Sobchak, Popov, Staravoytova, Afanasyev, Stankevich, Shatalin, Korotich, Borovnik, Adamovich and many others and provided space for them in the mass media. These people betrayed the motherland; instead of suppressing interethnic conflict they worked to incite hostility between nations with their materials. And they were even rewarded for that. The intelligence bodies of foreign countries and different international organizations organized foreign trips for those people, accommodating them in expensive hotels and organising dinners for them in expensive restaurants. Those 'democrats' received instructions from the United States, the UK, France and a range of other countries and, on return to Moscow, they sowed confrontations between people with slanderous speeches. And Gorbachev remained silent.

There were extensive articles about bribery in Russia and this information was published in newspaper pages almost every day. We should also mention that Gorbachev himself did not abstain from taking bribes. When he worked as first secretary of the Party Committee in the Stavropol region, he earned the nickname 'Gorbachev in envelope'. Everybody knows that in Stavropol. While in foreign countries, he did not refrain from accepting expensive presents and even money. In Korea, the

president of that country, Roh Tae Woo (currently in prison for taking large amounts of bribes. – author) gave him bribe in an envelope of 100,000 US dollars. Is such behaviour appropriate for the head of a great state?

*When in the United States, Gorbachev received expensive presents from the Armenian community. He promised that he would settle the question of transferring Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia positively. However, this problem became a tangle. They took the second dirty option. The first bloody action took place in Sumqayit. By no means did Azerbaijan agree to the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. **The centre, i.e. Moscow and its security bodies, shed blood in Sumqayit with Gorbachev's consent. But Gorbachev later said that a group of hooligans had committed the unrest in Sumqayit. This is a complete falsehood. It was an action that was prepared, planned in advance and highly organised. And they succeeded.***

“Gorbachev forgot that besides the State Security Committee there was the intelligence service of the Ministry of Defence, and all his negotiations were on my desk the very next day”.

(Dmitry Yazov,
former USSR Minister of Defence)

The USSR Minister of Defence, Marshal Dmitry Yazov: *We – the military - began supporting the ‘perestroika’ that had been announced. We believed in the idea. We started with enthusiasm. However, unfortunately, in practice they remained on paper. The Soviet economy went into decline. In 1987, industrial production ceased to advance, in 1988 it fell. There was anxiety in the Politburo and the Council of Ministers. Behind the curtain of openness (glasnost) flared a struggle for power. Many intellectuals inflamed ethnic conflicts in the republics. Separatist negotiations challenged borders, foreign intelligence agents were often guests of the democrats.*



Gorbachev was greatly to blame for that. He conducted separate negotiations with the United States, the UK and Germany in secret from the Politburo. He forgot that besides the State Security Committee there was the intelligence service of the Ministry of Defence, and all his negotiations were on my desk the very next day. The strange thing is that Gorbachev often denied this and called it provocation. The withdrawal of troops from neighbouring countries discredited the USSR, there were splits in the military and high-ranking officials became corrupt. This was mentioned many times at the congress of people’s deputies.

Mikhail Gorbachev tried all ways to avoid this issue. He demanded that we take a strict position against corruption and the so-called democrats, but he rewarded those same democrats behind our backs. He took them to foreign countries and provided them with every opportunity to speak to the mass media. But there was no effect from the perestroika that he had

announced. And step by step the country fell into regression. Individual members of the Politburo saw this. In August 1991 a state of emergency was declared in the country to prevent the collapse of the USSR. It was a necessity. The decision was not the will of one or two people. Gorbachev gave his consent to it. And he deceived all of us. Following the collapse of the USSR, the foreign intelligence agencies will want to demolish Russia itself (Yazov gave the interview in 1993). And separate states will raise territorial and land claims against Russia. And the greatest crime was that at a meeting between Gorbachev and Bush in Washington on 1 June 1990, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze and US Secretary of State James Baker gave 51,000 square kilometres of the Bering Sea Coast Waters to the United States. Even though 150,000 tons of valuable fish had been obtain annually from that area. As a result of such secret negotiations, Soviet territories and resources became a feeding ground for foreigners, and that was a crime committed by Gorbachev.

We were accused of a coup d'état. As if we were struggling for power. I was USSR Minister of Defence, why could I think about power? What could I become, a president? That is nothing but an absurdity. I am a soldier; I had the highest rank. I did not need power. Others needed power. And so a group of radical forces in the country stretched the situation further, created resentment among the people and stirred the ethnic conflicts that broke out. Nagorno-Karabakh is evidence of that. Who shed the blood in Sumqayit? Those who ordered and organised those events must be found and exposed. Otherwise, it is an absurdity to hastily accuse a few youth and sentence them to death. The organizers are not usually at the bottom, they are in the top circles.

At a meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on 18 July 1988, Gorbachev stated that the troops supposedly was one hour late for Sumqayit. That was an outrageous lie. Without an order from the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, I could not intervene in events. It would not have been a problem to prevent the unrest. Moscow was silent, as if waiting for someone's order. Whose? I cannot say for sure. Anyway, Moscow, Kremlin, Gorbachev acted slowly on that issue and gave the organisers the opportunity to shed blood in Sumqayit.

History is the greatest judge. I have no doubt that history will make the most objective judgment. Everybody knows that Gorbachev became a

traitor. His so called 'teachers' were the former US President George Bush Sr., Secretary of State Shultz and former UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The Armenian lobby living abroad asked Gorbachev to seize Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and transfer it to Armenia. To achieve that, they even gave him a bribe and presents. However, the people of Azerbaijan did not allow that to happen. That is why Armenians shed blood in Sumqayit. Because they needed blood so that they could declare to the world that it was impossible to live in peace with Azerbaijanis. That they need protection from Azerbaijanis and that Nagorno-Karabakh should be given to them.

“I am afraid that I will never be objective on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem”.

(Andrei Sakharov, academician)

‘Perestroika’ means an absence of policy. When Gorbachev proposed this idea, it had no social or political basis. That is why anarchy and chaos took over in the country. Gorbachev could not find a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. The leadership of Armenia and the Armenian lobby living abroad put pressure on him. ‘Perestroika’ was a historical opportunity; the Nagorno-Karabakh problem should have been solved. In Khrushchev’s time the Crimea was seized from Russia and given to Ukraine by a single order. Gorbachev also thought that transferring land from one republic to another could be done in the same way that Khrushchev did it. However, he was mistaken. It was the late 20th century. Khrushchev’s time was past. Gorbachev should have drawn in politicians, political scientists and scholars to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. But he got no positive result. He also used Academician Sakharov, who was much respected internationally, but that did not help either. Initially, Sakharov approached the issue seriously. However, he saw later that he was being used in a political game and he withdrew. To be more exact, Sakharov was used by Gorbachev against Azerbaijan. Yes, it is clear to all that Sakharov adopted an unambiguous position in this conflict. But, why did such a man take the Armenian side? Andrei Zubov, PhD Historical Sciences and Leading Specialist of the Russian Institute of Oriental Studies, clarified the matter. He worked with Sakharov for a certain period. His views are interesting. Zubov said:

Speaking frankly, I knew all about this great scientist without being personally acquainted. As orientalists we were also concerned about the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. We conducted scientific work on ways to resolve the issue. We wanted to meet Sakharov to share our thoughts. First,



we met Galina Starovoytov and consulted her. She promised to introduce us and emphasized that she was also interested in achieving a result. Before meeting Academician Sakharov we had a phone conversation with him. We gave him brief information. After consulting with Alexander Yakovlev, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Member of the Politburo, he agreed to meet us. Together we developed plans. What did these plans consist of? The main point was an exchange of lands. Transferring Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia and transferring to Azerbaijan some Armenian lands bordering Azerbaijan. First, we went to Yerevan. We met scientists and intellectuals there. They met our plans with indignation. Armenia made no concessions. They accused us of taking a one-sided position. Even the poetess Silva Kaputikyan said in a speech that, even if we die, our last word will be Karabakh. The intellectuals of Armenia were in a very aggressive mood.

The same scenario occurred in Azerbaijan. Our meeting at the Academy of Sciences was not positive for us. The academicians and intellectuals of Azerbaijan stated resolutely that we should not be enthusiastic about the Armenians' adventurist policy, and the plan to exchange lands had been prepared in Moscow by Armenians and its realization was impossible. I would like to mention that Academician Sakharov had an objective approach to the Karabakh problem in 1988, but in 1989 he began supporting Armenia's position. He understood later that he was wrong, he was used as a figurehead in this political game and he withdrew from it. I called him in late 1989 and said that the situation in the region was getting strained, we had to do something.

He told me, I AM AFRAID THAT I MAY BE NOT OBJECTIVE.

Yes, the famous scientist, Andrey Sakharov, the academician struggling for human rights was used as a tool in the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. It is strange that an academician who was strictly opposed to the communist regime all his life, one who was exiled from the capital by the regime, offered his assistance in settling the Nagorno-Karabakh problem on assignment from the Central Committee of the Communist Party. What forced Sakharov to do that? His ideas contradicted communist ideology, but in that situation, why did he suddenly begin serving the Communist Party? It is very strange. We could offer many reasons, however, we leave his role in the Karabakh question to history.

NOTE:

The Israeli political writer Robert David wrote with reference to the *Izvestia* newspaper, *Bonner, after the death of her husband began applying to various organizations with 'adventurist' proposals. The widow of the deceased Nobel Prize winner Sakharov, while in Norway, told journalists that the Nobel committee should delete Sakharov from the list of Nobel Prize winners. Bonner protested because Mikhail Gorbachev was also nominated for the Nobel Prize. However, he hadn't taken any positive action on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.*

Let us comment briefly on Bonner's protest. Sakharov's visits to both Yerevan and Baku to implement an assignment for the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, were unsuccessful. It could be concluded that if Sakharov's recommendations had been put into practice and Gorbachev had later been nominated for the Nobel Prize, would Alikhanyan-Bonner have protested to the Nobel Prize Committee? Of course not! On the contrary, she would have welcomed it. Thus, the point was not the Nobel Prize. The point was that Gorbachev had not kept his promise to the Armenians on Nagorno-Karabakh. And this was the reason for Bonner's protest. Let us note one more issue. For some reason Bonner wanted Sakharov's name deleted from the list, but she did not want to return the prize. Greed apparently overcame this Armenian widow and she preferred money to prestige. And this is an inherent feature of Armenians.

* * *

Yes, the Armenians' dream of 'Great Armenia' was not achieved. However, the bloody action that they carried out in Sumqayit affected the whole post-Soviet space. And Azerbaijan suffered most. Twenty percent of our territories are occupied. We have one million refugees and IDPs. However, this is not defeat. Our people are wise and cold-blooded. There are forces and states with interests in Azerbaijan. But we do not see any firm action. International organizations have willed this war to be completed in peaceful fashion for more than twenty years. However, the reality is quite different. The politicians of Armenia have slipped the reins; they rely on their patrons abroad. They forget that the law applies to all. And that one day, people's patience will end. Then, both the leadership and people of Armenia will have to relinquish the path they tread, along with their groundless territorial claims.

The president of Azerbaijan, Mr. Ilham Aliyev, has stated repeatedly that the lands not obtained by peaceful means, will be obtained in military fashion one day. Armenians should consider this seriously.

THIS IS THE REALITY!

EPILOGUE

The authors of the scenario to demolish the USSR through ethnic conflict and the special service agencies that tried to play out the scenario, including the patrons of the Armenian nationalists and separatists, decided to conduct anti-Armenian actions within the Azerbaijan Republic in order to create a political pretext that might stimulate the national Armenian movement for Karabakh. For this purpose they decided that the city of Sumqayit was a convenient venue.

Here we think it is particularly important to draw attention to one issue. Just as the Nagorno-Karabakh issue was useful in destroying the USSR, so the Sumqayit pretext gave a useful boost to the national Armenian movement for Nagorno-Karabakh.

The causes of events that were planned in advance and executed with enviable skill had nothing to do with either Sumqayit or its population. The city of Sumqayit had been chosen as a convenient location for the staging of mass unrest. The choice of the city of Sumqayit for conducting anti-Armenian actions may be explained by a number of objective and subjective factors.

Note: the factors listed below should not be confused with the causes of the events. In referring to factors we mean the factors that made it a convenient place to initiate those events. There was no relationship of cause and effect between these factors and events. The causes are factors related with the internal significance of the events. The unrest that erupted in Sumqayit was not caused by public, political, production, economic, cultural, housing, religious, ethnic, or other relations between the people living in the city; there was no tension in those relations.

Thus, we show some of the factors affecting the choice of Sumqayit as a place to stage the events, not the causes of committing of these events particularly in Sumqayit:

The first factor. According to the statistics, on 1 January 1988, the population of Sumqayit was 258,200 people of various nationalities. Of

them 14,208 were Armenians. Some of these Armenians refused to pay membership fees to the “Karabakh” and “KrunK” organizations, and did not support the nationalist and separatist policies of these organizations. Thus, those Armenians could be sacrificed in order to achieve a political pretext that might stimulate the national Armenian movement for Nagorno-Karabakh.

The second factor. Of course, Armenians did not live only in Sumqayit. They lived in a number of the republic’s cities, including Ganja, Sheki, Baku and other regions. Why then, was Sumqayit chosen for this purpose? Because compared with Baku, Sumqayit was a **convenient place**, not only for stirring unrest, but also for directing the events along the desired course, gaining total control of the city’s entry and exit routes, in general, to keep the situation in hand, and prevent events from spreading too far.

The third factor. There were enough potential **executors** of mass unrest to be found in the city. We can indicate various sections of the population who organized this factor:

a) An absurd idea circulated in certain literature devoted to the events that took place in Sumqayit in February 1988, that 20 percent of the population of the city, or every fifth person, were criminals who had previously been imprisoned and then released. Twenty percent of the population was 51,640 people, 3.6 times more than the number of Armenians living in the city. On the other hand, while this figure is a gross exaggeration, in the late 1980s about 2,000 prisoners who had been sentenced to forced labour were sent to Sumqayit. There is no doubt that there were people who were capable of committing crimes.

b) It is no secret that there were among the city’s population people who were disaffected for various reasons (for family reasons, or social structure, life style, housing conditions, the bad environmental situation in a city made a centre of the chemical industries, the hundreds of families forced to live in unsanitary conditions in the ‘settlement’ built unofficially in the city and surrounded by industrial enterprises etc.). There was a high likelihood that they would join in any unrest.

c) In the eve of the Sumqayit events, the average age in the city of youth was 25-26 years. More than 10,000 students studied at the professional

technical schools. It was possible to incite them to disorder as they were well beyond their parents' control.

d) While developing a scenario of action, it was probably taken into account that on 7 November 1963 there had been a demonstration in the city of Sumqayit against the 'Cult of Personality' policy of Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The fourth factor. The city of Sumqayit is close to Baku. So it would be easy to spark unrest in Sumqayit and immediately send information about it to the world from Baku, thus strengthening anti-Azerbaijan and anti-Sumqayit propaganda. We should not forget that there was neither modern communication nor even the idea of a mobile phone at that time.

The fifth factor. The young industrial Azerbaijani city, just 40 years old, with a population comprising more than 80 nationalities, was known to the whole world, not only as a city of constructors, metallurgists and chemical scientists, but also as a city standing for international friendship and brotherhood between nations. By starting unrest here, it was planned to stain the Azerbaijanis' reputation for friendship, humanity and internationalism, and to represent them to the world as nationalists, savages and barbarians and thus **to develop the view that it was impossible to live together with Azerbaijanis.**

Thus, the choice of the city of Sumqayit as a convenient place for committing anti-Armenian unrest in order to achieve a political pretext that might stimulate the national Armenian movement for Nagorno-Karabakh was no casual decision, and the events occurred in accordance with a previously prepared scenario on 27-29 February 1988.

Research conducted over 25 years proves that there were at least three parties to the events – CRIME – committed in Sumqayit:

The first and principal party – DIRECTORS – the special service agencies of the USSR under the leadership of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the foreign countries and their intelligence agencies that planned to destroy the international socialist system.

The second party – ORGANISERS – Anti-Azerbaijani forces that decided to create ethnic conflicts in the multi-national Soviet country to bring about its collapse, to set nations against each other and to use Nagorno-Karabakh as a political trump card in the campaign. When attempts to seize Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and transfer it to Armenia failed then the Sumqayit scenario, a diversion prepared jointly by the USSR State Security Committee and the special service agencies of Armenia, was launched.

The third party – EXECUTORS – the executors of the plan belonged to the extremist sabotage group *Nalyotchik*, formed by the USSR State Security Committee and the special service agencies of Armenia, together with active members of the “Krunk” society functioning in Sumqayit; teenagers, various criminal elements and uneducated youth.

From the first day of those events, Armenians have blamed the people of Azerbaijan, they continue to encourage international public opinion to believe that there had been a genocide of Armenians, they promote their political assessment of the events.

We should state with regret that at that time official Baku, by order of the Kremlin accepted the story that the events in Sumqayit had been perpetrated by a group of ‘hooligans’. Instead of researching the political content of the events and giving a political assessment, they began seeking the perpetrators among us, in Sumqayit. The young participants had been drawn into the investigation and imprisoned for various terms. **However, the directors and organisers of the crime avoided responsibility, that is to say, they escaped unscathed and unpunished.**

In 1988, officials of the Azerbaijan Republic law enforcement bodies revealed new facts about the investigation conducted by the USSR Chief Prosecutor’s Office; they interrogated hundreds of witnesses, collected their testimonies and determined the identity of those who organized the unrest in Sumqayit. The result of this continuous and systematic work helped us in writing this book and providing exact and strong evidence to the reader. Today, it is known from the investigation materials that a specially trained group, the *NALYOTCHIK*, were among those leading the people who committed the offences. And the group was led by the inveterate criminal and Armenian national Eduard Robertovich Grigoryan,

who committed several crimes in the Sumqayit events. Via Grigoryan, the *Nalyotchik* group distributed alcohol and drugs to teenagers and directed them to the required addresses.

The organisers controlled the events from Stepanakert, Yerevan and Moscow. In February 1988, a few days before the disturbances, more than 30 members of the USSR State Security Committee, led by First Deputy Chairman of the Committee Filipp Bobkov, arrived in Sumqayit. When a representative of the local security bodies told a representative of the special service body commissioned from Moscow that unrest was going to take place, they did not get a direct response. Further, they were required not to intervene when Sumqayit erupted. Even when Soviet troops had been deployed on the various estates and districts in the city, they did not intervene. Moscow had to give the order. They expected this order from Gorbachev. Members of the Politburo openly state this on the pages of this book; they criticized the national policy conducted by Gorbachev.

A large group from the USSR Chief Prosecutor's Office was sent to Sumqayit to investigate the unrest and criminal acts that took place on 27-29 February 1988 and the investigation started. Already 25 years have passed since then. Under the signature of the leaders of Azerbaijan's law enforcement bodies, official appeals had been made to the law enforcement agencies of Russia, Ukraine and other republics. They requested assistance in obtaining information, facts and documents relating to Sumqayit. Unfortunately, they not only left the law enforcement bodies of Azerbaijan without assistance, they failed even to respond to the official letters. **We think, there is no need for additional comment.**

Armenian nationalists and chauvinist forces relied on Gorbachev's policy and raised territorial claims, however they began to understand that they were losing. Gorbachev made several political moves to destroy the USSR. Although he supported the Armenians' territorial claims, he did not stand by them. He took advantage of the situation and began to use them as a tool. As a result, an ethnic conflict broke out, disturbing the people of a large country. Finally, the USSR collapsed. The republics obtained their independence. However, this cost Azerbaijan blood. Twenty percent of our territories are under occupation, we have one million refugees and IDPs. We don't lose hope. Azerbaijan has a strong and powerful army and we are

ready to take up arms and liberate our lands from the enemy at the order of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief at any moment.

They understand this in Yerevan and criticise the current government, they go out onto the streets and engage in protest actions. The policies implemented by Serzh Sargsyan do not advance the people towards development, but pull them back in regression.

Already 25 years have passed since the events in Sumqayit. Armenian ideologists and propagandists continue their consistent and systematic anti-Azerbaijan, anti-Sumqayit propaganda even now. This dirty propaganda does not stop. But, what we have done in these 25 years? First of all, all that has been written about the events is not enough. In this situation, do we have the right to require anything from our compatriots and intellectuals living beyond our borders? In saying this, we are not casting a shadow on our politicians, scientists, intellectuals, and journalists. A number of valuable books have been published and documentary films produced about the events that took place in Sumqayit and disclosing the dirty deeds of Armenians against Azerbaijan and Sumqayit. We are not going to list them. But this important work continues.

We should mention especially that study of the events in Sumqayit in their historical context and in the context of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict, and making it a subject of objective scientific research is not just a matter of urgency, it is a vital necessity for the future of our nation.

The provision of a political and objective legal evaluation of the events organized by the special service bodies and carried out in Sumqayit from 27-29 February 1988 to instigate ethnic discontent and that took the USSR to collapse is a matter of urgency. Before completing the book *Sumqayit 1988. Crime and Punishment*, we must inform readers about the political and economic reforms conducted throughout our country, including Sumqayit.

Azerbaijan and its cities and regions live no longer within the climate of the past. It has boldly stepped the path of building a constitutional, democratic, secular state. It has established a society and state providing freedom for all. The greatest achievement of our nation is that people live in peace, comfortably and are free. This favourable environment has been established in the republic for the development of intellectual and scientific potential and the realisation of the opportunities that exist. It shows that

Azerbaijan as a sovereign and independent state, as well as safeguarding its national interests, expands its relations of friendship and cooperation with foreign countries. We have to say that these were not easily achieved.

Azerbaijan declared its independence on 18 October 1991. The Azerbaijan that broke free of the clutches of the Soviet empire, took its first uncertain steps in the early years. Baku's surface and subterranean resources, primarily its oil, began to attract many countries, transnational corporations and international organizations.

Independent it may be, but Azerbaijan came under pressure from some foreign countries, intelligence agencies and military industry complexes. It did not change its political course and has proved that it is resolute and enduring.

Heydar Aliyev, who returned to power at the people's urgent request, saved Azerbaijan from international interference, he preserved it from disintegration; he declared oil policy to be a national policy of Azerbaijan. The presidents, prime ministers and diplomats of foreign countries could not dictate policy when faced by Heydar Aliyev's deep intellect, firm character and iron will in one-to-one meetings. They understood that there was no pressuring the president of Azerbaijan.

Under Heydar Aliyev's leadership, Azerbaijan began to integrate with the West. The biggest petroleum companies flew to Baku. They invested billions in Baku's oil sector. Large-scale projects were implemented in Azerbaijan and they began providing income. From year to year, Azerbaijan closed in on Europe and the world, attracting foreign countries with its political and economic courses and its cultural heritage. Today, Azerbaijan is known throughout the world, its opinion carries weight and its cooperation is sought.

As can be seen, Azerbaijan has position and weight on the world stage. There is no doubt that the country with substantial energy resources is always a centre of attention for large states and companies.

The economic leap that occurred in the Azerbaijan Republic in the past 10 years surprised many. The wise and sagacious policy conducted by President of the Azerbaijan Republic Mr. Ilham Aliyev, the worthy successor of national leader Heydar Aliyev, is always supported by the people of Azerbaijan. The leaders of foreign countries are amazed by the speed of Azerbaijan's development in such a short period; a development

made possible by the will of the people and the president. There is no discrimination against any nationality living in the Republic, their rights are protected; the tolerance, peace and respect prove again that Azerbaijan is a civil state. These values have ever been the life style of the people of Azerbaijan. Thus it is no infrequent occurrence that the traditions of multiculturalism and tolerance exhibited by Azerbaijan are held up as a pattern for the world. The country gives its considered input to the processes of international dialogue between religions and cultures.

The city of Sumqayit has a great role in Azerbaijan's speedy development. This year Sumqayit will celebrate its 65th anniversary. If we look back at history, we will see that a young city built on the coast of the Caspian Sea has passed great tests in its short life and emerged as a city of real toilers and hard-working people. About 500,000 people live there, they represent more than 40 nations.

The plants and factories that remained from the Soviet era and were outdated from the environmental point of view, have been pulled down. New technologies of various profiles have been procured from abroad, small enterprises have been established and thousands of workers, engineers, technical specialists have been employed.

A new ecologically clean, chemical industry park has been established in Sumqayit. The implementation of a new infrastructure project in electrical energy continues. More than 20 large, modern production sites function at the technology park. A cable plant, the production of polycarbonate boards, sandwich panels filled with polycarbonate, transformers, steel-casting and glass recycling plants are examples.

The *High Techno Park*, with the infrastructure, material and technical base and controls necessary for conducting research in the field of information and communication technologies, telecommunications and space and energy efficiency is being established in Sumqayit.

The construction of a railway wagon production plant and a biological cleansing installation in the park had been completed. A refrigerator storehouse with a volume of 4,000 tons and a total area of 8,900 square metres, a bread factory producing 120 tons of bread per day had been opened by the Delta Group.

Great projects to make Sumqayit a future centre of tourism are being developed. The Caspian Sea coast is being renovated with every

facility being provided for people's leisure. The construction of hotels, entertainment parks, motels, yacht clubs and public catering objects, the establishment of family entertainment and leisure complexes, the building of centres for mass cultural events is all evidence.

Economic and social reforms are being effected rapidly there. The figures tell the story: in 2012, Sumqayit's gross domestic product was 661.7 million AZN. In 2013, this figure increased by 20 %.

Cultural life of Sumqayit is also very rich. The State University, scientific research institutes, colleges, music schools, several palaces of culture, libraries, poetry clubs, theatres and other facilities all function in the city.

Sumqayit has established friendly relations with various cities in Germany, Romania, Egypt, Belarus, Italy and China and these relations are expanding every year.

People who make official visits to Sumqayit, or who go there as tourists always have positive views on the city and its habitants. Feedback follows from some of them:

Arnold Johnson, businessman (USA): *First of all I would like to mention that cities like your beautiful Sumqayit exist neither in America nor in any other capitalist country. Your affable youth attract most attention. We see visions of happiness in people's faces.*

Raj Kapour, film director (India): *Sumqayit is a young city, I would say it is a romantic city. People of many nationalities live here as one family. It is very good. People understand each other, we can only be happy about that. I see an even better future for this beautiful city.*

Frank Roffi, director of a chemicals firm (UK): *If we had not seen Sumqayit with our own eyes, if we had only been told about it, then we would probably have thought that it was just propaganda.*

G.Markov, writer (Russia, 1976): *Sumqayit was built by the hard work of youth; many young families were settled here and were happy. Sumqayit, a city of toilers, is a model for other cities.*

I.Averbakh, film director (Russia): *As well as being a beautiful place, Sumqayit also has beautiful people. I say that sincerely. I would be happy to make a film about such people.*

V. Kikabidze, actor (Georgia): *I witnessed Caucasian hospitality in Sumqayit. People met me kindly everywhere I went. It is a pleasure to*

live among such people. I wish the people of Sumqayit wonderful lives, kindness, Caucasian longevity, love and happiness.

We would like to finish our book with a statement by Marx. *The truth is truth when it is truth.* Armenians must understand this directly, they must desist from their territorial claims against an Azerbaijan that has peace loving and humane people, they must cease their campaign of slander, they should give priority to reality and the law, otherwise they will always lose before history.

* * *

Sumqayit was built by selfless and hard-working people. The city's construction started in difficult conditions in the 1930s and 1940s; it developed in a short period to become the Republic's second industrial centre. The products made there have been exported to 25 countries. The population of Sumqayit have made a great input to construction and building; they have created it and made it a developed city. The pictures that follow illustrate that development.

SUMQAYIT YESTERDAY



THE FIRST BARRACKS



The first stone-built residential buildings



Construction of the Samad Vurghun
Palace of Culture (mid 1950s.)



Construction of the Chemicals Complex. (1956)



Construction of Lenin Street (1954)

Paving Nizami Street
(1951)





Construction of Steel-concrete plan (1955)



The intersection of Lenin Street and Narimanov Street (1960)



Azerbaijan Avenue (former Lenin Street, 1962)



Samad Vurghun Street, children out for a walk (1968)

SUMQAYIT TODAY



Partial view of Sumqayıt



The 6th and 9th districts of Sumqayıt



New power station



Skyscrapers in the entrance of Sumqayıt



TERM Hotel



New residential buildings on the shores of Caspian Sea



Administrative building of the Chemical Company



Administrative building of the ASAN service



Azadlig Square. Building of the Sumqayit City Executive Authority



One of squares



Samad Vurghun Street. Residential building.



Sumqayıt inhabitants enjoying free time



Kids entertainment area



Sumqayıt in winter

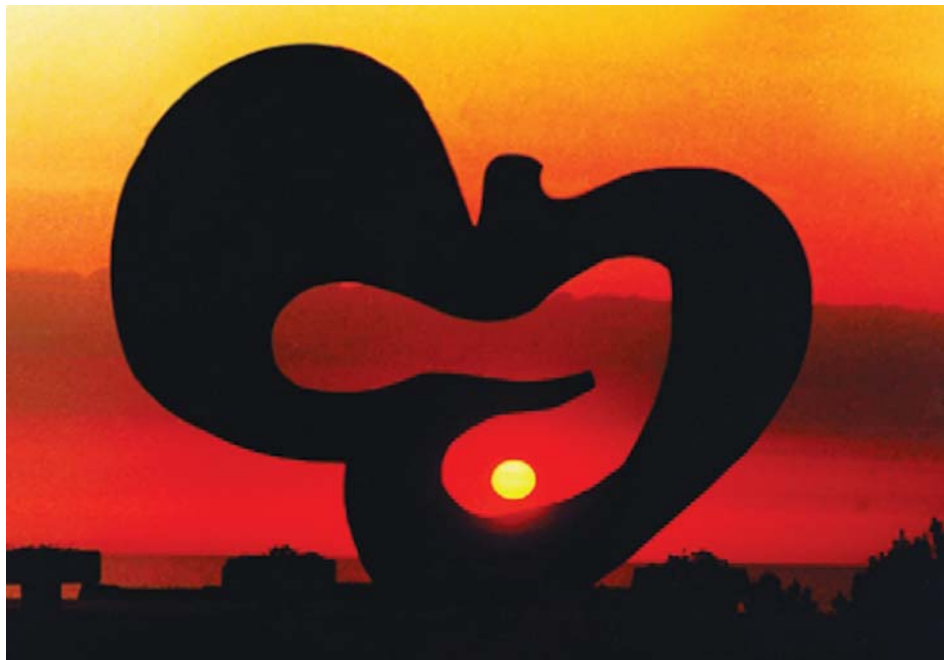


Park after name of Nasimi



Stadium after name of M.Huseynzade

SUMQAYIT NIGHTS ARE EVEN MORE BEAUTIFUL.



The dove of peace



Cultural palace after name of S. Vurgun



Intersection in the 5th district.



City fountain

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